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The Shape of Things

THE VATICAN'S REPORT OF MASS KILLINGS of Catholics in Poland shows that the earlier stories of atrocities against the Polish Jews could scarcely have been exaggerated. It is difficult to imagine worse conditions than those imposed upon the Polish population, including the clergy, in the sections of Poland now incorporated into the Third Reich. The names and addresses of nineteen priests known to have met death at the hands of the Germans are listed. Tens of thousands of Poles have been driven from their homes and forced to migrate, without property or personal possessions, to the sections of the country not annexed to the Reich. They have been crowded into factories, barns, and camps and kept there for weeks without heat in Europe's coldest winter in fifty years. No estimate is even ventured as to the number who have died under these conditions. That the Vatican, which was unperturbed by the mass killings by the insurgents in Spain, should suddenly awaken to the atrocities committed by an Axis power is of great political as well as humanitarian significance. It suggests that the breach between the Nazis and the church has reached a stage where the two can no longer work side by side in international affairs. The fact that these stories were released over the Vatican radio may be expected to have a profound effect in Italy. For Mussolini, despite his personal anti-clericalism, can scarcely expect under the circumstances to lead his Catholic population into war on the side of priest-killers.

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THE TRADE TREATY WITH JAPAN EXPIRED without sensational developments either here or in the Far East. For the moment no action is likely to be advocated by the State Department. The Administration appears to be satisfied to hold the threat of retaliatory measures as a club to force a change in the Japanese policy toward American interests in China. Japan, for its part, is desperately anxious to avoid incidents which might lead the United States to utilize the weapons now at its disposal. The resumption of the anti-British campaign, involving new restrictions against Tientsin, seems to represent a typical Japanese effort to divert the attention of the public during this crisis. Unfortunately for the success of this strategy, British and American interests in China are closely linked, and it is doubtful whether the army extremists, who are opposed to an agreement with the United States in any case, will be careful to distinguish between the two. Nor is the United States likely to be reassured as to Japan's good faith by a renewed campaign of brutality against foreign civilians in China. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee meets this week to consider the Pittman and Schwellenbach embargo resolutions introduced last spring. Although public-opinion polls show 82 per cent of the American people in favor of stopping the export of war materials to Japan, it is probable that there will be a delay unless those opposed to aid for Japan are more articulate than they have been in the past. Another loan to China has been suggested as a means for salving our consciences while maintaining our war trade with Japan.

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HAVING REFUSED TO GIVE CREDIT TO THE Allies and forced them to count their dollars carefully, the United States is hardly in a position to grumble if they fail to buy here as freely as we should like them to do. Nevertheless, some bitter protests have been heard because Britain has ceased to import tobacco and fruit from this country and has sharply reduced its takings of certain other goods below the normal level. Apart from the importance of economizing dollars, the ban on tobacco is inspired by the necessity of giving support to Turkey, on which the Allies must lean in order to safeguard their position in the Near East. Another complaint is against the large orders which Britain has placed in Argentina on condition that increased quantities of British goods are taken in return. This action is said to be hampering American trade in that country, but considering the barriers we persist in maintaining against Argentinian goods, we can hardly make out a very good case. In any event the war has enlarged American exports as a whole even though particular commodities have been hard hit. December exports were at a ten-year peak, and for the final quarter of 1939 sales to Latin American countries were 41.3 per cent higher than in 1938. Total shipments to Britain and France have notably expanded and the former alone is now said to be spending at the rate of

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$9,000,000 a week. Not unnaturally this buying is concentrated on goods not easily obtainable elsewhere, with airplanes, machine tools, and chemicals the leading categories.

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CANADA HAS NOT FOLLOWED BRITAIN IN arranging a political truce for the duration of the war. On the contrary, party strife has grown more acute. In the fall, Premier Duplessis of Quebec forced an election in that province as part of the nationalist campaign against participation in the war and suffered a severe defeat. But since then the federal administration of Mr. Mackenzie King has been sharply attacked on another flank by political groups who favor the war but are critical of the way in which it is being waged. There have been accusations of lack of energy, inefficiency, and favoritism in the placing of contracts. These attacks came to a head on January 18 when on the motion of Premier Mitchell Hepburn the Ontario Legislature passed a resolution censuring the federal government for failing "to prosecute Canada's duty in the war in the vigorous manner which the people of Canada desire to see." The Conservative opposition in the Legislature unanimously supported this resolution, but ten members of Mr. Hepburn's own Liberal Party refused to follow him. This incident appears to have been the decisive factor in persuading Mr. King to appeal to the electorate for a new mandate. Parliament met for a new session at Ottawa on January 26 but only to hear that it would be dissolved immediately with a view to a general election at the end of March. Taken by surprise, the opposition, which had expected at least a short session during which they could develop their offensive against the government, reproached Mr. King for trying to escape from his critics by a "snap election." The campaign threatens to be both bitter and confused, with the Liberals badly split by the personal feud between King and Hepburn. Progressives will no doubt attempt to raise the question of the wartime suppression of civil liberties, but in the general mêlée there is danger that this important issue will be shoved aside.

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EVEN MORE SERIOUS POLITICAL ISSUES ARE disturbing the Dominion of South Africa. There former Premier Hertzog recently brought forward a resolution favoring an immediate and separate peace with Germany which was defeated by 81 votes to 59. This is not a very large margin, but it indicates a weakening in Hertzog's position in the House of Assembly since September 5, when his anti-war stand was voted down by a majority of only 14. This may be the result of the definitely pro-Nazi sentiments he expressed in the course of the debate, apparently to the disgust of some of his followers who, while believing that neutrality would be in South Africa's best interests, are by no means ready to whitewash Hitler. However, Hertzog is likely to continue in command of sufficient strength both in the country and in Parliament to place a severe handicap on Premier J. C. Smuts's conduct of the war. Moreover, the differences which have hitherto separated his group from Dr. Daniel F. Malan's Nationalist Party now appear to have been overcome by his acceptance of the principle of complete separation from the British crown. Henceforth the opposition in South Africa proposes to run neutrality and republicanism in double harness. It is difficult to see how a revival of the tragic rift between the Africander and British elements in the dominion is to be avoided.

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R. C. LEFFINGWELL, REPUTED TO BE THE "brains" of the house of Morgan, has submitted a memorandum to the Temporary National Economic Committee diagnosing our economic ills and proposing remedies. His most interesting suggestion is the need for a mild shot of inflation with a view to widening profit margins and thus encouraging our dispirited entrepreneurs. Mr. Leffingwell is on firm ground in his criticism of the mercantile policies pursued by this country ever since the last war. One of the consequences of those policies is our steadily increasing hoard of gold, which is at last beginning to be recognized as a major financial problem. As Mr. Leffingwell rightly points out, it would be "sheer lunacy" to raise the price of gold any farther, while decreasing it would be politically impossible and dangerously deflationary. He therefore suggests that commodity prices should be allowed to rise gently, thus reducing the "present gross disparity" between the gold price and the commodity price level. The result would be, he says, to save business from being squeezed between high costs and low prices. His memorandum does not, however, make it clear what changes in monetary policy would produce this effect. Actually prices of basic commodities have shown a definitely upward trend in the past four months. Industrial goods have remained comparatively steady, thanks, at least in part, to the restraining influence of the TNEC. This, perhaps, is the real object of Mr. Leffingwell's criticism. But in this field prices depend less on direct market influences than on planning by industrial executives who have been encouraged by the TNEC to look for results in greater turnover rather than in higher margins. Judging by 1940 corporation reports now being published, this policy has hardly been destructive of profits.

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GOVERNOR LEHMAN'S PROPOSED INCREASE in surtax rates for New York State appears to have met no better fate than the President's proposed defense tax based on capacity to pay. The situation is in many ways an ironical one. In both the state and nation, critics of the Democratic administrations have based their fire

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chiefly on the recurrent unbalanced budgets. They have talked economy but have presented no plan under which the budgets could be balanced. Governor Lehman's tax is an eminently sound one. Described as a tax on the "middle brackets," it falls most heavily on the upper income brackets. Ninety-five per cent of families—those with incomes of less than $3,000—would be wholly unaffected by the rise, while the brunt of the tax falls on the $6,000 and over brackets, a group that can afford the modest increase. In the howls of protest which have gone up against the tax—which always seem inversely proportionate to the number of persons affected by the proposed levy—the groups which have been urging a balanced budget are especially conspicuous. It now appears that in New York the Republicans do not want a balanced budget after all; they would prefer to make a few feeble gestures in the direction of economy and then wait until next year in the hope that by some lucky accident revenues will be greater than anticipated. A more irresponsible attitude toward the financial problems of government would be difficult to find.

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THE WAR HAS TRANSFORMED PUERTO RICO from a poor relation into a potential "Gibraltar of the Caribbean," reports from that island seem to indicate. Tremendous progress has already been made toward carrying out the Administration's $27,000,000 program for converting the island into a military, air, and naval base capable of guarding the Panama Canal and the north coast of South America from attack by a major power. A huge area in the northwestern part has been cleared for an air base. Approximately 2,500 of the 10,000 troops scheduled to be stationed on the island are already at their posts. The strategic importance of Puerto Rico in America's new defense plans has not been without incidental value to its population. The army and navy, we are told, are placing great emphasis on public-relations work with the natives. Moreover, the Administration seems to be making a belated but none the less real effort to attack the island's economic problems. An economic mission has been invited to come to Washington to assist in drafting a program for relief and economic rehabilitation to be considered at this session of Congress. Meanwhile the demand for immediate independence seems to be subsiding. The Nationalist Party under Pedro Albizu Campos is still for independence, but it stands alone. Among the larger parties, the Popular Democrats under Luis Marin have definitely forsaken independence as an immediate issue, while the members of the Union Republican Party have indicated their intention of removing all mention of independence from their party platform. The attitude of these parties is at least a realistic one, because once the island is fortified the chances for independence will become slight indeed.

THE FILM VERSION OF "ABE LINCOLN IN Illinois" opened in Washington last week at the RKO-Keith theater. As an advance build-up the management conducted a contest to find a "perfect double" for Lincoln within the city limits. Scores of photographs were submitted; finally the judges selected that of Thomas P. Bomar, secretary of the National Alliance of Postal Employees, as the closest likeness. Amid considerable fanfare Mr. Bomar was summoned to the Carleton Hotel. He was showered with eulogies, compelled to face a battery of cameras, and presented with two front-row tickets for the première, where he was to receive a $25 award. There was general agreement that Mr. Bomar was an amazing "double" for the Great Emancipator; if there was any pronounced difference, it was that Mr. Bomar's complexion was perceptibly darker. But not dark enough to excite any grim suspicions until somebody, after the ceremony, noticed his address. He lived in a Negro neighborhood. On the night of the opening Mr. Bomar went to the theater. Outside he saw a picket line of Negroes protesting against the exclusion of their race from the theater. Mr. Bomar went in anyway, and the doorman, eyeing him a little suspiciously, didn't interfere. But the presentation was omitted; the climax of the Great Contest was unaccountably skipped. Mr. Bomar just sat in the front row of the theater waiting for his cue; it never came. The next day there was a brief press notice that Mr. Thomas Bomar had won the contest. But the usual tub-thumping never took place. He was a Negro.

Lewis in a China Shop

FOR a man who in his time has done as much backtracking as John L. Lewis, the C. I. O. leader is rashly casual about the bridges he burns behind him. It is not enough for him to tell his assembled United Mine Workers that the New Deal has failed here, there, and the other place; he must renounce Roosevelt, suggest that the Democrats would have to be "coerced or dragooned" to give him another nomination, and prophesy that should that high-handed technique succeed, the President would face "ignominious defeat" at the hands of the electorate. As to whether or not this is the long-heralded break between Lewis and Roosevelt there would seem at first glance to be scant room for speculation. But circumstances have on more than one occasion changed pre-convention gall to post-convention nectar. They would almost certainly do so again if the Democrats should submit to the "coercion" Mr. Lewis warns of. And that possibility gives his words a flavor of tactical strategy rather than finality.

Lewis's tactics have two possible objects: to scare the convention away from any thought of a third term by

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threatening the loss of the powerful C. I. O. support, in which case the break with Roosevelt would be completed, or to use the same threat to bring Roosevelt and the party around to a more militant pro-labor stand, now and at the convention.

With the second of these objects, at least, we can find no quarrel. We share Lewis's rejection of the notion that the Democrats, or any other party, should be permitted to take labor's support for granted. We believe, too, that the President has yielded far too much to the reactionary wing of his party: in the matter of relief cuts, as attested by his budget speech and by the shocking WPA prosecutions in Minneapolis described elsewhere in this issue by Dwight Macdonald; and in the campaign of subtle red-baiting which he has come to tolerate if not to encourage. Moreover, we appreciate Mr. Lewis's obvious desire to balance the influence of the Southern reactionaries and the Northern city machines with a strong labor counterweight.

Nevertheless, we are convinced that Lewis's tactics are self-defeating and dangerous. He did not warn Roosevelt that further surrenders to the right would undermine his labor support; there was no question of alternatives. His attitude, on the contrary, was wholly negative: the New Deal was a proved failure, Roosevelt had already surrendered, and there was no good in him or in his works. The results of this categorical and petulant approach can differ only in their degree of infelicity. The most obvious and probably the least important is the awkward position in which Lewis would find himself should Roosevelt or a candidate picked by him get the nomination. Lewis can hardly prefer a Taft or a Vandenberg, or even a Dewey; and to launch a third-party effort on such short notice would certainly be feeding peanuts to the elephant.

More serious is the rift which Lewis's action is bound to cause in the C. I. O. Sidney Hillman's powerful Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Textile Workers under Emil Rieve, the Industrial Councils of New York, New Jersey, and California, and various local unions have already indorsed Roosevelt for a third term; and the United Rubber Workers, the United Automobile Workers, the United Retail and Wholesale Employees, and the Federation of Hosiery Workers will in all probability follow suit. Lewis's own Mine Workers, unprepared for the quick turn of events, brought in no fewer than forty-seven third-term resolutions. Disunity in the ranks of American labor has had a major part in weakening the New Deal along the very lines that Lewis deplores. By his latest move he not only has made peace with the A. F. of L. less likely than ever, but he has divided his own house as well. It is this failure to carry along the whole C. I. O. which underscores the doubtfulness of his strategy. Effective, it would have been dangerous; ineffective, it is futile as well as dangerous.

On the Balkan Fence

THIS week-end the Balkan Entente, composed of Turkey, Greece, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, is holding a meeting in Belgrade. With the exception of Turkey, which is strongly committed to assist Britain and France in certain contingencies, these countries wish to remain strictly neutral. They may pray quietly for an Allied victory, knowing that if the Nazis win they must face a bleak future, but like other neutrals they want to stay peacefully on the sidelines and carry on as profitable a business as possible with both sides.

Under these circumstances it might seem a wise course for these countries to join in a defensive alliance for mutual aid against any invader and for mutual resistance to the pressures constantly exerted by both belligerents. Such a scheme may in fact come under discussion at the present meeting. There are, however, many obstacles to be overcome, the most serious being that some of these countries are much more dangerously placed than others. The one subject to the most immediate threats is Rumania, which, it is reported, is anxious to obtain guaranties of military aid in case of attack by either Germany or Russia. It is extremely doubtful whether its partners in the Balkan Entente will be willing to provide a pledge of this kind. The Greek government, for instance, is Germanophile, even though Greece relies in the last analysis on the British fleet for its defense. Turkey, on the other hand, is already in Berlin's bad books and might risk some additional displeasure. But it is still on nominally friendly terms with Russia, although the relationship is much cooler than it used to be, and it would hesitate to commit itself to waging war if the Soviets moved against Bessarabia.

It seems likely, therefore, that Rumania will have to continue its efforts to maintain its neutrality unaided by extraneous guaranties, apart from those given by the Allies, which it regards as hardly an unmixed blessing. Nevertheless, in some ways its position has been growing rather stronger. Russia's involvement with Finland has both lessened the immediate danger of an attack on Bessarabia and encouraged the Rumanians to prepare more strenuously to defend it. Nor is the threat of German invasion so acute as a few months ago. There are, indeed, signs that Berlin is in a serious dilemma regarding Rumania. Partly because of transport difficulties, aggravated by the freezing of the Danube, and partly because of the aggressive commercial and diplomatic campaign of the Allies, it has not been receiving oil, grains, and other commodities in the quantities it needs. Each new form of pressure it puts on King Carol is met by counter-pressures from Britain and France, which, thanks to their gold and their financial control of the Rumanian oil industry, are occupying an economic line

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very hard to assail. The threat of military action remains as a German trump card, but its effectiveness is declining for a number of reasons. Paramount, perhaps, is the difficulty of moving except in conjunction with Russia, whose appeaarnce on the Balkan scene might involve a definite split with Italy. Again there is always the problem of how to kill the goose without destroying its egg-laying capacity. Lastly, there is the fact that the Allies might welcome an invasion of Rumania since it would provide them with the flank they are obviously seeking in order to end the deadlock on the western front. In view of these considerations, it seems probable that the German high command will hesitate a long time before it orders a Rumanian *Blitzkrieg,* and that King Carol will maintain his position on the fence even without physical support from his Balkan neighbors.

Purge by Passport

THE four-year sentence imposed on Earl Browder is fantastically excessive. It is only less grotesque than the five-year term which United States Attorney Cahill asked; and it can only be interpreted in the extra-legal terms of America's political temperature. Both the harshness of the punishment and the approbation it received from the press reflect the degree to which anti-red fevers have risen. Browder is only the first victim.

The case itself rested on a narrow, technical point. Since the statute of limitations had expired, Browder could not be prosecuted for traveling under a false passport, as he had done in the 1920's. His offense was traceable to one word written in 1934. When applying for a passport in that year, he was asked whether he had had one before; he answered "none." In 1937 and 1938 he returned to the United States from trips abroad carrying the passport he had obtained in 1934; and the government charged that his entry constituted unlawful "use" of a passport obtained by false statement.

If the offense was real, it scarcely represented a major menace to the republic. More flagrant violations by non-political travelers have been less severely punished. It is not even certain that the government case will survive the scrutiny of the higher courts. The section of the law under which Browder was prosecuted is ambiguous: there is no clear statement that it is intended to apply to citizens; and the fact that lack of a passport is no bar to the reentry of a citizen into the United States strengthens the claim that the section was exclusively aimed at aliens. Browder is a citizen.

But because he is also a Communist, there have been no newspaper editorials in which the severity of his sentence is even mildly deplored. We have heard no commentator hint that if Earl Browder had been John Smith he might have been treated more leniently. No columnist has bothered to point out that men from Justice Brandeis down have frowned on the practice of imposing consecutive rather than concurrent sentences, as Judge Coxe has done in this trial.

If the Department of Justice had merely prosecuted the case and requested a punishment commensurate with the crime, and if this case were an isolated one, there would be little ground for alarm. After all, the New Deal didn't bring the subject up; Browder did, when he told the Dies committee of his travels in the 1920's. Apparently confident that the statute of limitations protected him, he made the confession in full view of press and public. He was wrong; the Administration's failure to exploit his error might have provided dynamite for its right-wing enemies and embarrassed its own efforts to prosecute right-wing terrorists. But while these facts may justify the launching of the prosecution, they do not explain Mr. Cahill's effort to transform a technical violation into something approaching high treason. The case called for a responsible effort to make the punishment fit a minor crime. Instead, Mr. Cahill talked grandiosely of the "sacred right of passport"; and editorial writers assured Browder he was lucky to live in a free country.

Browder's courtroom demeanor was impressive. His subsequent Madison Square Garden address, in which he reproached the New Deal for "betraying" the Communists and boasted that Communists had once shaped Frank Murphy's policies and written New Deal speeches, hit a new low in political immorality. But this gratuitous gift to Martin Dies's war chest is relatively unimportant; the real question is what Browder's sentence portends.

The passport laws were originally designed to curb the influx of suspect aliens in war time. Now they are becoming an instrument for purge by technicality. Communists have no special claim to immunity from them, but neither is there any excuse for a sudden and sweeping descent on violators because they are Communists. The succession of indictments handed down since the Browder prosecution was launched testifies that this is happening; behind the camouflage of passport accusations and similar non-political charges, an anti-Communist drive is under way. Revolutionaries are accustomed to such maneuvers by a hostile state and cynically regard them as an occupational risk. To democrats they are a storm warning. For they are invariably a prelude to indiscriminate war against the left. There is no evidence that the Communists or other left groups are guilty of unlawful political acts such as those charged against the Christian Front. But there is a growing clamor to eliminate them by "technical knock-out" if other avenues are closed. In the same week that Browder was sentenced, the *Fortune* poll reported that 40 per cent of America wanted free speech for the left curtailed; it defined "left" as "Browder, Communists, reds, radicals, Norman Thomas, Socialists." In that atmosphere nobody is safe.

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Children in a Democracy

NOT for many years has the American social structure been subjected to a more searching scrutiny by a semi-official body than it underwent at the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy held recently in Washington. On the assumption that the America of tomorrow is being formed in our children of today, the social and economic conditions affecting childhood were rigorously appraised. It was acknowledged, for example, that the safety of our democratic institutions requires that as many families as possible be enabled to earn a decent income. And figures were assembled showing that nearly three-fourths of the families in the United States do not have enough income to give the children an adequate diet. Between six and eight million children are to be found in families dependent on government aid or some form of relief. Figures were also assembled showing the effect of this poverty. Forty per cent of city families live in houses without central heating; one out of six in houses either unfit for use or in need of major repairs. Half a million children under sixteen have cut short their education in order to go to work. At least ten million school children have defective eyesight, and a million and a half have impaired hearing. Approximately a quarter of a million mothers and their babies have no medical care at childbirth or immediately thereafter.

Facts such as these, far too often overlooked if not actually suppressed, provided the basis for the conference discussions. Consideration was also given to the special problems of children in minority groups, as well as to religion, education, and recreation. While a two-day conference was not expected to produce a program for the solution of all these problems, it did make many useful suggestions. It advocated, for example, that in addition to maintaining work relief for employable adults and grants in aid for dependent children, the federal government assume at least partial responsibility for general relief. Similarly, the conference went on record as favoring an expansion of the low-cost housing program with special attention to rural areas, where half the country's children live. It recommended federal grants in aid to the states for education, and made a number of specific proposals for the improvement of our educational system. And it set forth an elaborate public-health program with special reference to the needs of mothers and children.

Most of the conference discussions dealt with what might be called the physical basis of democracy. It was recognized that true democracy cannot flourish as long as a few children are privileged and the majority are denied the opportunity of developing into normal, healthy, trained citizens. But the necessary psychological atmosphere of democracy was not neglected. In discussing family life it was pointed out that democracy must begin at home—that it must not only be inculcated but practiced in the home if the child is to grow up with an appreciation and understanding of the democratic process. Similarly, the section of the conference dealing with education felt that the child's learning experience should include participation in the activities of community life. Only in the field of religion did the conference seem to dodge the basic issue. It recommended making "more available . . . the resources of religion as an important factor in the democratic way of life," but failed to consider the basic problems raised by the coexistence of autocracy in religion and democracy in politics.

Another grave omission in the findings of the conference was the absence of any reference to the democratic value of youth's own efforts to face and solve its problems. We trust that it was not fear of the Dies committee that accounted for the absence of any approbation of the work of the American Youth Congress. Except for these omissions, the findings of the conference are honest and courageous and well deserve the study of every American interested in his country's future.

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Dies, 345; Decency, 21

BY KENNETH G. CRAWFORD

Washington, January 29

DIES got 345 votes and decency got 21. It was as simple as that and as bad as that. Neither the blustering arguments of conservatives who led the movement for continuation of the Congressional Committee for Investigation of Un-American Activities nor the elaborate sophistries of liberals who went along could conceal the issue. The question was whether a committee whose rules of procedure resembled lynch law, a committee which had shown itself both unscrupulous and inept, was to be given a vote of confidence and a new lease on life. The answer was almost unanimous approval of a resolution renewing the committee's authority for one year followed by appropriation of $75,000 to defray expenses.

The House answered the question with its eyes open and all the facts before it. In debate on the resolution almost every speaker who did not attack the committee outright offered some apology for its misconduct. Two members of the committee—Casey of Massachusetts and Voorhis of California—admitted that they had not been able to reform the Dies procedure. Congressman Hook's evidence that Chairman Dies had consorted and collaborated with patrioteers on the periphery of the Christian Front cordite ring and that William Dudley Pelley of the Silver Shirts has boasted of immunity from investigation was in the record where everyone could see it.

Yet only twenty-one members voted no when the roll was called. It was an extraordinarily bad score even for the House the 1938 reaction built. The principal reason for the stampede was, of course, the fear of many members that dissent would cost them their seats. They knew the Gallup poll had recently shown overwhelming public sentiment for continuation of the committee. A vote against the resolution would be called a vote for communism. It would be a custom-made slogan for opposition candidates in the fall campaign.

Some members who would have voted against the resolution had they followed conscience rather than political judgment were consoled with the Lippmannesque reasoning that the committee could be excused for using un-American methods because it was investigating un-American activities. Since it was poking into the affairs of the political underworld, it had to borrow underworld tactics—"it takes a crook to catch a crook." It is the same mental process by which ordinarily kindly citizens shrug at third-degree methods in the back room of the police station. If the rubber hose is used occasionally on an innocent man, one must not be unduly disturbed because the guilty deserve to be beaten and mistakes will happen.

That argument wasn't used in debate, but it appeared in several influential columns and editorial pages. It was effective. Most members speaking in support of the resolution gave Dies credit for jailing Earl Browder and Fritz Kuhn, although one was a victim of the Department of Justice and the other of New York State officials. Both were under investigation for their crimes before Dies got around to them. No one, except Dies himself, had the crust to credit the committee with the Christian Front arrests. He put in a claim from his sick bed in Texas. The other achievement most generally credited to Dies was education of the public to the ways and wiles of the Communists. The information that Communists get into liberal organizations and then by dint of energetic and systematic work try and sometimes succeed in making them toe the party line seemed to be new to Congress. Any liberal joiner could have told them about it, or they could have read about it in any one of a dozen periodicals long before Dies took his feet off a cloak-room chair.

There was only one lengthy defense of Dies. This was an extension of remarks by Representative Cox of Georgia, the one-man angry mob of the House. He asserted that there couldn't be anything to Hook's documents because Dies had been threatened with physical violence by the Christian Fronters and criticized in Pelley's periodical.

Some of the speeches against the committee were more substantial, but none of them went into the question of Dies's responsibility for the hysteria that translated itself into an assassination plot in the little minds of seventeen Brooklyn boys. In the process of getting publicity for its chairman, carrying on the left-wing political feuds of its research director, J. B. Matthews, and arousing fears that a Communist revolution is just around the corner, the Dies committee unquestionably has contributed to the growth of such crackpot aggregations as the Christian Front.

The most important speeches of the debate were those of Casey and Voorhis, the two liberals added to the personnel of the committee last year. Casey told the House how Dies held a meeting with himself at six p. m. on a Sunday night to receive Matthews's report on consumer organizations, how in this report Matthews, "a renegade Communist and formerly associated with Con-

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sumers' Research, Inc.," had declared rival consumer organizations communistic, and how all this had then been represented as the conclusion of the full committee. He also told how, in the final report of the committee, which he signed, the C. I. O. Electrical Workers' Union had been declared Communist-dominated on no more evidence than a hearsay report that its president once spoke at a meeting of the American League for Peace and Democracy. Voorhis supplied the information that he had proposed rules of fair conduct for the committee which had been rejected on the ground that they would "hamstring" its operations. But the two liberals both urged continuation of the committee.

The question now is what the committee will do with its $75,000. Will it take its courage in hand and investigate Father Coughlin, the spiritual inspirer of the Christian Front? Asked this question from the floor, Voorhis indicated that he would favor such an inquiry but pointed out that he could not speak for his colleagues. It is doubtful whether the committee, even now, will take on the radio priest. It may investigate Merwin K. Hart and some of the other lesser lights named by Hook as Christian Front collaborators. Will it reform its methods? Casey and Voorhis probably will be able to force some improvements, but it must be remembered that they were on the committee when the consumers' report was issued. So far as is known, Dies offered no promises to House leaders in exchange for their support of his renewing resolution beyond the understanding that he would not conduct hearings between the political conventions and the November election.

He has intimated to a few friends that he is tired of it all, wanted the renewal merely for vindication, and now will be content to let Casey and Voorhis have their innings. But he has smelled the headline ink, and no such resolution is to be taken too seriously. If Dies doesn't use his new coil of rope to hang liberal candidates in the forthcoming campaign, as he did in 1938, there will be a lot of surprised and disappointed Republicans—and not a few Democrats.

WPA Cuts—or Jail

BY DWIGHT MACDONALD

WHEN Frank Murphy became a Supreme Court justice, he left to his successor, Attorney General Jackson, one awkward and embarrassing piece of unfinished business—the mass trials of WPA strikers which the Department of Justice has been carrying on in Minneapolis since last fall. Awkward, because the Minneapolis trials are flagrantly incompatible with the New Deal's frequently avowed devotion to democracy and yet the President's relief strategy appears to demand that the trials be carried through to the end. Embarrassing, because Attorney General Jackson, like Murphy, is personally honest and liberal, with little stomach for the dirty work his department has undertaken in Minneapolis.

The trials have received almost no attention in the national press, for excellent reasons. The situation at present is that 162 citizens of Minneapolis have been indicted by a federal grand jury on charges which can send each of them to the penitentiary for two years and subject him to fines up to $10,000. To date, 37 have been tried. Of these, 33 have been convicted and 4 have been acquitted, 2 of them on instructions from the judge. These 162 men and women are charged with having "intimidated" fellow WPA workers during last summer's WPA strike and with having "conspired" to do this. As I shall presently show, the trials are frame-ups in the sense that the government is perverting the intent of legislation in order to railroad the defendants to prison.

There is no dispute about what happened in the strike in Minneapolis. The strike was called by the Minneapolis Building Trades Council and was backed by the whole union movement of the city, A. F. of L., and C. I. O. alike. The mass of unskilled WPA workers was strongly organized by the Federal Workers' Section of General Drivers' Union, Local 544. This local, led by the Dunne brothers, has for years been the heart of the Minneapolis trade-union movement; it won nationally famous strikes in 1934 and has supplied the generalship which has made Minneapolis the best-organized major city in the country. The teamsters have done a notable job of organizing the unemployed, and when the WPA movement started last July, Minneapolis strikers quickly took the lead in militancy and effectiveness. At the height of the strike about 90 per cent of the local WPA projects were closed down.

The present defendants are being tried for their alleged presence on mass picket lines which were thrown around the chief projects. There was some violence on these picket lines—fist fights, feminine hair-pulling, and the usual police clubbing and shooting. There were two deaths—of a policeman and a bystander. The policeman collapsed on strike duty and died in the hospital. Although the press reported he had been beaten to death by the strikers, the hospital records show he had an acute

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heart condition and died of heart failure. This is now admitted even by the prosecution. The other death was that of a middle-aged workman who was killed by a stray bullet, presumably from a police gun, since no evidence has been brought forward at any time to show that the strikers were armed. On the day this bystander was killed, seventeen of the pickets were injured by police guns, clubs, and tear gas severely enough to require hospitalization.

The strike in Minneapolis was finally called off on July 21, after the union had obtained relatively favorable terms. The pay cuts were not rescinded, but it was agreed that strikers would be taken back on the WPA rolls without prejudice; in places where the WPA workers put up a less effective fight, the usual practice was to blacklist all strikers.

But this was by no means the end of the story. Three days after the strike was settled, a federal grand jury began an investigation which had been prepared for by several weeks of intensive espionage by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Victor Anderson, young and ambitious United States Attorney for the Minneapolis district, did a thorough job on the case, building it up in collaboration with the FBI and the reactionary city administration of Mayor Leach. The grand jury sat for three weeks and heard almost two hundred witnesses. On August 18 indictments against 103 strikers were handed down charging "intimidation" of WPA workers, a felony under the Woodrum Relief Act of 1939. In most cases the "conspiracy" charge was also thrown in for good measure.

The 162 indicted strikers are a cross-section of working-class Minneapolis. There are college kids, housewives (a third of the defendants are women), war veterans, skilled craft workers, Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Irishmen, Swedes, people of all ages and races and religions. They have been treated as though they were dangerous criminals. United States Attorney Anderson refused to make public the names of those indicted, on the ground that they might "escape." At first, arrests were made in the small hours of the night, by armed deputy marshals who routed the victims out of bed and carried them off to jail. The pounding of these home-grown Gestapo agents on the door was the first intimation many of the defendants had that they were "wanted." Later arrests were made in daytime, the captives being paraded through the streets in handcuffs. As the strikers arrived at the Hennepin County jail, they were "mugged," and the photographs were released for publication in the local papers.

Federal Judge Bell set bail for the first forty-three defendants arrested at the fantastic figure of between $5,000 and $10,000 apiece. (Former Judge Manton's bail was $10,000.) This for workers who were completely without resources and had been earning about $60 a month on WPA, and who furthermore had not the slightest temptation to "escape" since they would have been ineligible for relief in any other place. The total bail set for these forty-three defendants came to $213,000. At the local rate of $75 a thousand for bail bonds, it would have taken $16,000 to get them out of jail. It was pressure from local unions that forced a reduction of the total bail to $57,000. As security for this bail from the bonding companies, the unions voted to put up the Labor Temple—a remarkably generous, and rare, gesture of solidarity between organized labor and the unemployed.

Justice Murphy

For purposes of trial the defendants have been divided into ten groups, according to the time and place of the violence in which they are alleged to have taken part. There were eight defendants in the first trial, which involved, among other things, a knife attack on a picket by a man appropriately named Slaughter. (It was Slaughter's *victim* who was on trial.) The jury consisted of seven farmers, a lumber salesman, a former deputy sheriff, a real-estate dealer, a restaurant owner, and a hardware dealer. In this as in later trials the judge was Matthew M. Joyce, formerly chief counsel for the Minneapolis and St. Louis Railway. He instructed the jury to acquit two of the defendants. Five of the remaining six were found guilty of intimidation, and four of them were also found guilty of conspiracy.

Three days later, on October 20, the second trial ended, with three out of four defendants found guilty. Anderson then moved for a mass trial of no fewer than ninety defendants, all charged with violence on the picket line around the sewing project. Judge Joyce cut the number down to twenty-five at a time. He overruled the defense counsel, Tom Davis, who wanted a seventy-two-hour recess so that he could have an investigation made of each of the seventy-five talesmen from which the jury was to be picked. Davis was also overruled when he asked permission to question each prospective juror.

The reason for Davis's solicitude about the jury panel was that it had been made up of names submitted by county attorneys and other court officials, by postmasters, and by the Minneapolis Junior Chamber of Commerce. Fifteen of the names had been taken at random out of *rural* telephone books. Only one man on the whole panel —he didn't get on the jury—had any sort of a union

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past; he had been a member of one of the Railway Brotherhoods fifteen years ago. The defense soon exhausted its allotment of ten challenges, and another typical federal jury filled the box—five farmers, a filling-station owner, an accountant, a road-grader operator, a non-union carpenter, a salesman, a garage owner, and a housewife.

In the course of this trial, which dragged on for a month, Anderson put 158 witnesses on the stand. Suspicions have been voiced that his strategy was to build up so huge a court record as to make the cost of an appeal prohibitive. (The defense must have all testimony printed at its own expense in order to take an appeal.) Whatever his motives, he dragged the case out interminably. The defendants showed plenty of spirit, cracking jokes about the glass-framed American flag behind the judge's chair—"Even the flag is framed in this courtroom." One of the prisoners admitted she had called non-strikers names, adding, "Anyone that crosses union picket lines is a fink, scab, or rat." When Anderson asked her if she would call him that if he did, she replied that she would. It is charged, by the way, that some of the defendants were not even on the picket line on the day in question, and that many of the indictments are the result of grudge or spite accusations by personal enemies. In his final speech Anderson threw a red scare into the jury with such statements as, "Minneapolis is not going to become the Moscow of America so long as I am district attorney." With the issue defined as communism versus Americanism, the jury returned a verdict of guilty on both charges for all twenty-five of the defendants. It seems clear that, with juries of this sort, the trials still to come will have the same outcome. As for the "Moscow of America," it is the trials themselves which are giving Minneapolis a Muscovite flavor.

It is hard to see how the charges are anything but a gross perversion of the clear intent of the Woodrum Relief Act of 1939. The section of that law forbidding "intimidation" of WPA workers was put in to protect them against political pressure, particularly against New Deal pressure. That it would later be used to send strikers to prison could have been in the minds of few if any Congressmen when the bill was passed. The "conspiracy" clause in the same act was aimed at contractors who might try to get together and defraud the government on materials for WPA projects. (The $2,000 fine bears out this interpretation: such a fine makes no sense whatever applied to WPA workers.)

The "conspiracy" charge is really a revival of an old legal weapon much used against labor back in the unenlightened days of Cleveland and McKinley. The New Deal is picking up this club again, just as Assistant Attorney General Arnold has begun once more, after a twenty years' lapse, to use the anti-trust laws against organized labor. In these trials it has been most effective. Judge Joyce's charge to the jury in the first trial stated that to be guilty of conspiracy it is not necessary that a defendant know the other defendants previously or that he be present at the conception of the plot. "Those who come in later and cooperate to obtain the unlawful results of a conspiracy become partners and assume responsibilty for that which went before," he said. By this definition, any striker is guilty of "conspiracy" the moment violence starts on the picket line. "This is the most outrageous thing I have ever witnessed," said a prominent Minneapolis lawyer after sitting in on one of the trials. "If these people have done anything, why not try them one by one in a police court where such offenses should be examined?" His question is unanswerable. Fist fights and hair-pulling are normally matters for the police court, not for the federal grand jury.

Attempts have been made to pass off these trials as the excesses of a local federal attorney. It is reported that Attorney General Murphy was "pained and disgusted" at Anderson's vindictive attitude. But Murphy, pained or not, never interfered, for the good reason that the trials represent the direct and conscious policy of the White House. The whole machinery was set in motion by President Roosevelt. The day after the policeman died, before it was generally known that he died not of a beating but of heart failure, the President announced that the Department of Justice was beginning an investigation of the Minneapolis WPA strike. A few days later Murphy specified Minneapolis as a place where "evidence of labor racketeering or criminal conspiracy against the nation's relief program may result in indictments." On the following day, with the strike still hot in the nation and hottest in Minneapolis, Roosevelt gave his press conference his famous personal message to WPA strikers: "You cannot strike against the government." He underlined this by giving special permission to quote his words directly.

Just how much the Federal Bureau of Investigation has had to do with building up the case against the strikers is not known. There have been indications that the G-men played a major role, under cover. One of Anderson's chief advisers in the grand-jury investigation was Daniel M. Ladd, who is in charge of the Chicago office of the FBI. In the third trial a police sergeant became flustered under cross-examination. Asked, "Did you discuss your testimony with anyone?" he replied, "I just merely rehearsed—I mean, just went over my testimony with Noonan and J. H. Rice." These two men are FBI agents. An even worse slip was made by the Minneapolis *Tribune* when it reported on July 24: "The FBI agents, about twenty-five of them, were in a good position to learn what took place around the sewing project in the series of riots July 14, it was disclosed Sunday. Wearing overalls and other articles of workmen's clothing, the agents, posing as pickets and on-

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lookers, mingled with the crowd surging around the project building."

President Roosevelt has made it quite clear where he stands in the Minneapolis affair. On August 3, as the grand jury was beginning its investigation, he nominated Linus Glotzbach, Minneapolis WPA administrator, for promotion to Regional Director of WPA for the Seventh District. It was Glotzbach who insisted on keeping the projects open, under heavy police guard, although the usual policy was to close down all projects where mass walk-outs occurred. Glotzbach worked closely with Mayor Leach and Governor Stassen, reactionary Republican politicians, to smash the strike. At the request of Minneapolis unions Senator Lundeen moved in the Senate that Glotzbach's nomination be sent back to committee for action at the next session of Congress. This automatically suspended the promotion. Roosevelt has now reintroduced Glotzbach's nomination and apparently intends to fight it through the Senate.

There was violence in many cities during the WPA strike, and yet only in Minneapolis has the government taken legal action of this sort. Why? In Minneapolis the WPA workers put up the most effective fight. To smash this strong WPA union is the chief aim of the trials. But the strategy does not stop there. There are indications that the government is trying to strike at the powerful General Drivers' Union, Local 544. The St. Paul *Pioneer Press* reported, "Activity of 'higher-ups' in Local 544 during the WPA strike is being investigated by the federal grand jury." And the Minneapolis *Tribune* noted, "Witnesses who told about union operations in connection with the strike spent more time in the jury room than did those who told of interference with workers." The government seems to be interested in Local 544 for two reasons: (1) 544 organized the Minneapolis unemployed and supplies them with extremely competent leadership, and (2) the leaders of the local have played the chief role in the conversion, since 1935, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters from a craft union of some 60,000 members into a semi-industrial union of 400,000 members, with contracts covering all over-the-road truck drivers in eleven Middle Western states. The existence of such a huge body of militant union members in so strategic an industry as trucking is a real threat to the New Deal's current plans for war-time "coordination" of unions, particularly when the union is politically as antagonistic to the Administration as is 544.

What of the future? Judge Joyce is due back in Minneapolis on February 10 for the fourth trial. President Roosevelt seems to be determined to go on with the trials. When the subject was brought up at his press conference on December 12, he reiterated his prohibition of "strikes against the government" and added that WPA workers not only may not strike but must also be careful not to "create a disturbance or disrupt the peace." Through the Minneapolis prosecutions Roosevelt is serving notice on WPA workers that they had better take quietly and submissively the pay cuts and decreased appropriations the future holds in store for them if they want to keep out of the federal penitentiary.

War on the Short Wave

BY HENRY B. KRANZ

FOR twenty-four hours every day since September 1 scores of short-wave stations have filled the air with sound. From London and Berlin, from Paris and Moscow come salvos of accusation and hate, of lies and vilification. To the military, economic, and diplomatic war fronts has been added a fourth—that of radio propaganda.

This front has already found its war correspondent—the short-wave monitor. He sits in the listening room of a broadcasting company, with the loud-speaker on the ceiling connected with a short-wave receiving station. His ear roves the ether while his hand makes notes. When he strikes an important item, he passes it along to the news commentators.

As a correspondent of this new type, I hear about half a million words a week—brightly colored news broadcasts, propaganda speeches, the clamor of politicians, speeches addressed to countrymen in enemy camps. I hear kings and statesmen, officers and privates, scientists, artists, workers—all possessed by a sense of the righteousness of their cause. I listen to a different station every fifteen minutes, returning to each in succession from five to ten times a day to get a panoramic picture of the methods and goals of the forces on this front. Often a strange voice will bring an exciting piece of news—a battle in the air, a ship sunk—hours before it comes over the ticker of the news agency. It was a correspondent in the radio war who first gave America the news of the signing of the Soviet-German pact and first announced the Russian advance into Poland.

Reichssender Berlin, the official German broadcasting service, with six stations speaking in ten languages to all corners of the earth, and the British Broadcasting Corporation of London, with nine stations sending out

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fifteen-minute news bulletins in seventeen languages no fewer than forty-nine times a day, are the most active. England and Germany not only compete for the attention of millions of listeners in enemy territory and neutral countries but also carry on a running debate with each other. Berlin's radio salvos are the more booming and insistent, especially when given in German for the benefit of the fifteen million Germans outside the Reich. London is fairly mild except when it is urging the malcontents in the Third Reich to rise and throw off the Nazi yoke. (I have heard that two exiled Viennese actors are the voices of these broadcasts.)

In English and other foreign languages Berlin is much more moderate. "Lord Haw-Haw," an announcer with an Oxford accent whose identity is a puzzle to the British, attempts to ape the milder English tone. Completely different techniques are used by the same broadcaster, depending on the audience he has in mind. Many stories told in German transmissions are not given in English. They would sound too gory and blatantly propagandistic. Broadcasts in English for America and in Afrikaans for the Boers of South Africa are expressed in much more vigorous language. All German broadcasts end with the stubborn battle-cry: "Germany fights for the removal of an injustice, the others for its continuation." The theme of all German stations is, *Am deutschen Wesen wird die Welt genesen* (the spirit of Germany will cure the world).

In the daily schedule of a Berlin station approximately four hours are given to reports in various languages of the latest events in the war. These are embroidered with partisan comments and with quotations from native and neutral papers. Three hours are used for announcements which are actually disguised propaganda: discontent is increasing among the British laboring class; wives of soldiers get only half as much support in the British Empire and France as in Germany; the submarine and mine campaigns are so successful that soon England will have no food or raw materials; the Scandinavian countries and Belgium are cooling toward the Allies; according to the Paris *Jour* French soldiers have no shoes; there is unrest in India (an Indian physician is brought to the microphone to tell the world of the horrid destruction perpetrated by the British in his homeland) and also in Palestine and South Africa; the dominions are groaning audibly under their war burdens. Included for contrast are reports on the quiet and order in Bohemia and the purposeful reconstruction work in Poland. The British blockade is asserted to be a complete failure; we hear a child tell how you can get everything your heart desires in Germany—butter, milk, meat. (But a few hours later a speaker may thunder about the ruthless hunger-war the Allies are waging against German women and children.)

Intimate views of the war and home fronts are put on the air two or three times a day. The microphone visits a submarine dock. It interviews officers of the army and navy who have covered themselves with glory. It visits a camp for Hitler Girls, or reports a conversation with an English woman who is joyously astonished at the peace and order in Berlin, the lights and laughter, the theaters sold out, the stores crammed with the most magnificent goods. "You can see," cries the Berlin radio, "that the blockade is a complete failure. Germany already rules the waves. And Russia will send us everything we need."

More time, from four to six hours a day, is given to out-and-out propaganda, chiefly savage assaults on the British Empire. The English have long been set on dismembering Germany, which is fighting only for its existence; Chamberlain owns thousands of shares of war-industries stocks; Churchill is "world famous for his lies and boasts"; Eden is "known for his good tailor and his poor speeches."

"We are desperately fighting the Jewish-plutocratic spirit of England," is Berlin's newest line. Every week a new supply of mutilated German corpses is found in Bromberg and Posen, evidence of the "inhuman brutality" and the "low level" of the Poles. Polish Jews are pictured as "the scum of humanity, filthy, verminous, and crawling"—probably in a report by a "soldier just returned from the Polish front." The Jews in England and France, the brothers of these Polish Jews, are the real "war-inciters." Coughlin's *Social Justice* is quoted to show that this war was cooked up by the Jews, who were also responsible for the attempt on Hitler's life in Munich. That the American embargo on the sale of arms was lifted through the efforts of the Jews is clear, avers Berlin, from the remark of the Jewish banker, Baruch: "Why shouldn't we sell arms to the Allies? If we don't, others will."

Again and again the German radio paints the French *poilu* as a poor devil who is picking the chestnuts out of the fire for the British Tommy. "England expects every Frenchmen to do his duty," it shouts. "We have no grudge against France. Doesn't France realize that it is fighting for the benefit of the plutocratic Jewish gentlemen of the London Stock Exchange?" The Führer asks nothing more than their rightful place in the sun for his eighty million people. England, with forty million people, rules a fifth of the world's surface, and "we Germans, the most capable and industrious people on earth, have not enough to eat." "We did not want the war, it was forced upon us, and we did not want to go to war against Poland either."

Bernard Shaw's utterances are quoted in support. Or perhaps a reference is made to the Berlin correspondent of the Rome *Tribuna,* who reports that the simplest man on the street in Germany knows that England is waging this war against the entire German people, not just against Hitler. Hungarian, Spanish, Belgian, and Japanese papers are drawn upon, but the favorite sources of

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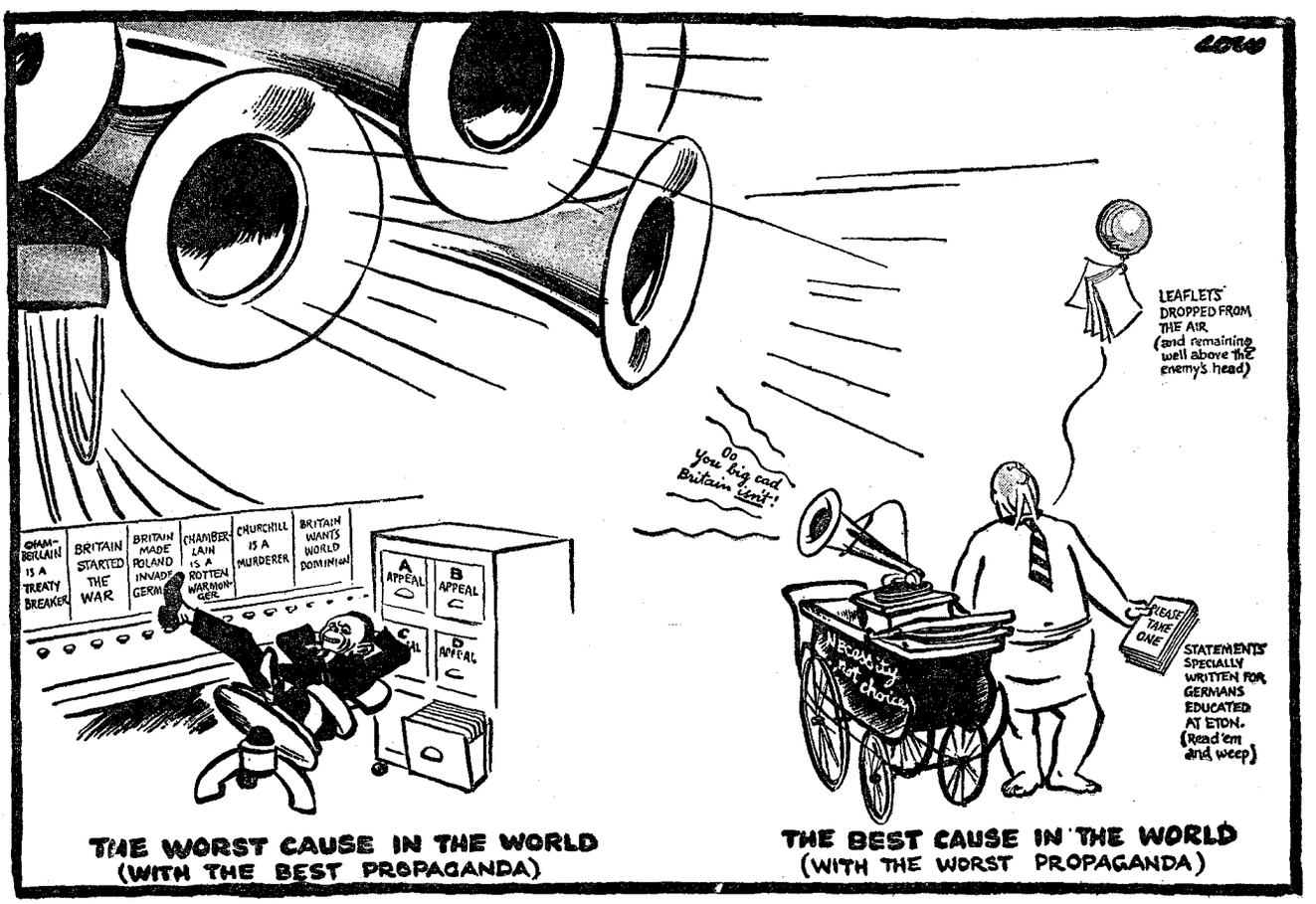
confirmation are the Russian and Italian press. Hugh Johnson, Lindbergh, and Ford are often quoted a few hours after publication. Statements by H. G. Wells and G. K. Chesterton are exhumed from their books to prove that the English have always been hypocrites, shopkeepers, and aspirants for world domination. The "narrow circle of British Jewish-plutocratic capitalists" and the British Intelligence Service are blamed for all sorts of things: for explosions in Rumanian oil fields and Yugoslav factories, for the murder of the Rumanian Premier, Calinescu, and for the Bromberg massacres.

Three times a week, at 2:15 and 6:15, New York time, one can hear the voice of the editor-in-chief of the Berlin station, Hans Fritsche, speaking for fifteen minutes on the events of the past few days. He passes for a Berlin counterpart of Noel Coward. Here are samples from his speeches: "Too bad that television isn't further advanced, so that I could let you see a few of the pictures that appeared in the *Berliner Illustrierte*. In England pictures like these would be stored in an armored safe with two guards before it. They are photographs by our fliers who recently paid a visit to England: shots of the Thames estuary, the London docks, the Firth of Forth. If I were an Englishman and saw these pictures I'd break out in goose-pimples that didn't come from the lack of wood in the fireplace. . . . Lately the B. B. C. took up an old idea and reported that discussion of a tunnel under the Channel had been resumed. We can understand that. Didn't a Danish trade delegation to England make a detour through Switzerland, instead of going by water? The neutrals already know that the road to England is the road to death. . . . After we spoke of the 'winged eagle,' the well-known symbol of the German air force, we heard B. B. C., to our astonishment, oppose the British falcon to the German eagle. It seems that the eagle gave the lion such a pecking and plucking that English propaganda has abandoned the lion for good. They did it on purpose, people tell us, because the falcon is a much nobler animal than the eagle. We merely remark that the falcon has been known to eat doves for dessert. Shame, shame, falcon, is that democratic?"

Berlin has for some time been using the following trick to attract listeners. A musical program is announced, perhaps a series of waltzes. But after the second piece one hears a voice saying, "The richest country with the poorest population, England, is fighting the poorest country with the happiest people, Germany." Then another waltz is played. And in the next intermission one hears, "Germany is the most peace-loving country on earth. In the last three centuries England has waged 144 campaigns, France 89, but Germany only 39, of which 14 were against Austria and 16 against Bavaria, to establish the unity of the Reich." London countered with a better trick to bring German listeners to their radios in spite of the imminent danger of the concentration camp, beginning its broadcasts with the announcement of the names of from six to ten German fliers or sailors in English prison camps. It assumed that no worried mother or


LOW
CHAMBERLAIN IS A TREATY BREAKER
BRITAIN STARTED THE WAR
BRITAIN MADE POLAND INVADE GERMANY
CHAMBERLAIN IS A ROTTEN WARMONGER
CHURCHILL IS A MURDERER
BRITAIN WANTS WORLD DOMINION
A APPEAL
B APPEAL
C APPEAL
D APPEAL
LEAFLETS DROPPED FROM THE AIR (and remaining well above the enemy's head)
Oo you big cad Britain 'ere!
PLEASE TAKE ONE
STATEMENTS SPECIALLY WRITTEN FOR GERMANS EDUCATED AT ETON. (Read 'em and weep)
THE WORST CAUSE IN THE WORLD (WITH THE BEST PROPAGANDA)
THE BEST CAUSE IN THE WORLD (WITH THE WORST PROPAGANDA)

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wife, eager for news of this kind, would let herself be frightened away from the radio by the Gestapo.

London exploits the Nazi ban on listening to foreign broadcasts. "Your leaders have told you that you are not to listen to foreign broadcasts because they are bad for your nerves. But it is your memory and thoughts they are afraid of. We in England have no fear of the truth. Our papers even publish the daily programs of the German short-wave stations. But ten of your people have already been condemned to long prison sentences for listening to our talks."

The Overseas Service of the B. B. C., like the German stations, carries on a campaign of attack and vindication. It makes daily assaults on Hitler and his "henchmen." "They have made themselves rich and sent millions out to neutral countries while the people go hungry. They have robbed you of every liberty, turned you into slaves without freedom of speech or freedom to work. . . . Hitler has always lied to you. He said that he was persecuting the Communists to save Europe from Bolshevism, and he allied himself to Stalin. He declared that he wanted a racially pure Germany, and now he is ruling Czechs and Poles. He solemnly declared that Poland was his good friend. You have seen how he kept his word. And you can read what he thinks of you in 'Mein Kampf.' In it he says, 'The great mass of the people believe a big lie quicker than they will a small one.'" It often plays a few sentences from a phonograph transcription of a speech by Hitler or Goebbels or Hess, and then adds the comment, "His words are not worth the paper they are written on or the air into which they were bellowed." I consider this method of direct refutation one of the most telling techniques of the radio propaganda war. A quotation from "Mein Kampf," always with a mention of the exact page, followed by an excerpt from a later speech of Hitler's has a dramatic and convincing effect.

The Nazis always insist that they are fighting for their lives because their enemies "want to dismember Germany." London's view of where the war guilt lies is very different: "We always want peace. But we were tired of mobilizing every few months because Hitler had overrun another helpless little country. England does not want world empire; it is prepared to give all its dominions and colonies independence when the time is ripe. But Hitler stole every vestige of national self-determination from Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland." To substantiate such attacks, it broadcasts daily reports which may be classed as "disguised propaganda"—accounts of massacres in Poland and of unrest in Austria and Bohemia (these are always immediately labeled lying reports by Berlin). It repeats little stories to show what hard times the Germans are experiencing. A professor in Switzerland received a letter from a friend in Berlin which said: "My dear friend. Don't on any account believe that we have not enough to eat here. Our food is at least as good as what you get at the St. Antoine Hotel in Geneva." And London adds, "The German censor did not know that St. Antoine is a Geneva prison."

London has learned much about propaganda from the Nazis. The B. B. C. gives not only the news but newspaper comment from all over the world. (Of the American press, the New York *Times, Herald Tribune,* and *Post* and *The Nation* are often cited. Among the favorite writers are Dorothy Thompson, Oswald Garrison Villard, and Ludwig Lore.) A moving report of the tearful farewells of the Baltic Germans may be followed by an appeal to German workers, in German, by a Labor Party leader: "Isn't it amusing to listen to what Goebbels has to say since Ribbentrop had a champagne banquet with Stalin in the Kremlin under Lenin's picture? Now the Nazi watchword is 'Down with Capitalism.' Before it was 'Down with Socialism.' The truth is that the National Socialists are neither Nationalists nor Socialists. Our message to you is, We are fighting not only the brown Bolshevik but also for your freedom."

The German army is incited to revolt, now by a French, now by an English veteran of 1914: "They have dismissed or shot down your most able generals. Can you be sure that Brauchitsch still believes in Hitler?" A joke is made of the accusations with regard to the Munich bombing. "So we English are supposed to have done it. Perhaps they will dig Churchill's cigar ashes or Chamberlain's umbrella out of the ruins, as evidence against us." Of the submarine and mine campaign a speaker says, "The extent of Hitler worship can be seen in a Christmas article in Göring's paper, the *Essener Nationalzeitung*. It declares that 'the Führer is to the German people what Jesus was to the world two thousand years ago. The Führer is the Messiah sent to liberate the German people from slavery.' And what do the assistants of this Messiah do? On Christmas night they torpedo the steamer Stanholme without warning, just as the crew is celebrating Christmas below decks—one of the most gruesome acts of this war." Recently London has made the distinction between Hitler and Germany less often. It indicates more and more emphatically that the economic resources of the great British Empire are inexhaustible, that Germany is cut off from all the world, and that Russian help will never come.

The Berlin radio, in accordance with the German nature, affords only a meager amount of humor. However, there is a comic called Charlie who gives a one-man show in English every Wednesday night. He specializes in topical parodies on American popular songs. "I can't give you anything but love, baby," will be changed by him to Chamberlain singing to a German child, "I can't give you anything to eat, baby." Every Saturday there are a few rhymed verses on current events by the "week-end

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poet," but they are dull and humorless. The best humor comes from the American Fred Kaltenbach, of Waterloo, Iowa. Every Monday night he addresses "dear Harry" and "the folks back home," all of whom, investigation has proved, are greatly annoyed by his attentions. He is a former member of the American Legion and his wife is a former secretary of Göring's. He warns the United States against entering the war: "Will England or France pay? Did they pay for the last war?" And he goes on, "Talking about Christmas, I want to make a few belated presents: to Chamberlain I want to give a new umbrella, to be opened whenever one of these German planes flies over London, so he won't be recognized. To Halifax, a brand-new iron halo, with adjustable supporters, to be worn either inside or outside his derby. He has earned it as the British heavyweight champion of international morals. To Churchill, past master of the seas, a packet of invisible paint for his ships; and an out-size foghorn for the Ministry of Information, plus a medal for deceiving the English people about the number of sunken ships."

What is the effect of these battles on the radio front? The question is hard to answer because we cannot count the number of listeners or learn their reactions to what they hear. But their interest is revealed by the vast and growing use of short-wave sets throughout the world. While they are prohibited in Japan, short-wave facilities are almost universally owned by radio listeners in Argentina, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Cuba, Honduras, Netherland Indies, Newfoundland, Nicaragua, Norway, Portugal, and Rumania; and they are achieving widespread popularity in Bermuda, Belgium, Brazil, British India, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Greece, Guatemala, Hongkong, Mexico, Palestine, Peru, Sweden, Switzerland, South Africa, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia. Recent arrivals from Germany and Austria tell me that "everyone"—excluding the Jews, who have no radios—listens eagerly to the B. B. C. broadcasts. In the last war, German propagandists admit, active propaganda was able to shatter German morale and make it ripe for collapse. Its effect on neutrals was also great. In the last war there was no radio propaganda.

Slumming with Zanuck

BY MICHEL MOK

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord;
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored . . .
—"The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

MINE eyes have seen the glory of the coruscating assemblage that attended the private preview of Darryl F. Zanuck's film version of John Steinbeck's "The Grapes of Wrath" at the Normandie Theater in New York.

Mine eyes were dazzled by the diamonds, the sapphires and emeralds, the silks and satins, the sables, ermine, and fox of the lovely ladies who, on the arms of tailed-and-toppered escorts, swept into the lobby of the little picture house in East Fifty-third Street. Dressed in bibs and tuckers from the ateliers of Mainbocher and Molineux, the gals from Park Avenue came in gleaming limousines with their men-about-town to take a peek at the raggedy Joads and the miseries of their jaloppy migration.

Among the freshly pressed and perfumed pilgrims there were such Blue Book, Broadway, and Beverly Hills magnificos as the W. Averell Harrimans, the Theodore Roosevelts, the Sonny Whitneys, the William Paleys, the Gilbert Millers, the Irving Berlins, and Miss Hedy Lamarr, the "Ecstasy" lass, fully clothed for this occasion in pink satin and three or four feet of diamond necklace. Many of the women, in addition to baubles that would buy sizable farms, wore bunches of orchids the cost of which might have kept the Joads in sidemeat for a year; the plump torso of Miss Jane Darwell, the actress who plays Ma Joad in the picture, was covered with the blooms from chin to waist.

The preview was scheduled to start at 8.30. At 8.45 Mr. Zanuck himself arrived with Miss Dorothy Lamour, the whilom siren of the sarong. By that time the theater was filled with a swanky, glittering, noisily chattering, neck-craning, hand-waving crowd. Photographers dashed up and down the aisles, snapping the members of that small group of personages whose faces provide a never-failing treat for city editors' eyes. Only another dozen camera men and the strains of the Prelude to "Tristan und Isolde" would have been needed to turn the scene into a duplicate of a Metropolitan Opera opening.

Three rows in the parquet were occupied by officers and directors of the Chase National Bank and their ladies. The Chase National controls Twentieth Century-Fox, which produced the picture, and by an odd coincidence it is also one of the Eastern financial institutions, along with the Irving and Manufacturers' Trust companies and the National City and Central Hanover banks, which control the Western land companies that tractored the Joads, and thousands like them, off their farms.

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The presence of the Chase National gentlemen and their resplendent women furnished a graphic and enlightening demonstration of the virtues of our system of free competition and individual enterprise without too much government interference or regulation. Here they were, having added greatly to their wealth by taking possession of the lands of the Joads, and about to wax still richer from the profits of a dramatization of the agonies of those unfortunately stupid and shiftless people. The Chase National, its sleek officials seemed to say, can't lose; it gets 'em coming and going.

After a newsreel the Okie odyssey was finally unveiled. In the dark it was of course impossible to get a clue to the reactions of Mr. Zanuck's chichi guests, and that, perhaps, was just as well. Except for a smattering of applause from the balcony when the migrant farmers at the government camp foiled the deputies' scheme to break up their dance and a general polite round at the finish, the invited audience witnessed the picture in silence. The crowd on the lower floor returned to its limousines after Ma Joad had made her final speech: "Rich fellas come up an' they die, an' their kids ain't no good, an' they die out. But we keep a-comin'. We're the people that live. Can't nobody wipe us out. Can't nobody lick us. We'll go on forever. We're the people."

Well, maybe so. Meanwhile, the Park Avenue gals and their escorts drove to Fefe's Monte Carlo for a little champagne supper tossed by Mr. Zanuck. From the Dust Bowl to the flowing one—Glory, glory hallelujah!

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Golden Tide

A LITTLE less than a year ago, in the first of these columns, I drew attention to the problems created by our huge hoard of gold and suggested that, as nothing was being done to remove the causes of our persistent accumulation of this metal, the capacity of the Treasury vaults would be subjected to further strain. When I wrote, our total holdings were approaching $15 billion; today they are nearing the $18 billion mark, representing over 60 per cent of the world's monetary gold. And now the questions raised by this concentration of gold in one country are beginning to seep into the public consciousness. Bankers are making speeches about it; newspapers are publishing editorials. Is there any way of reversing the golden tide? Is our mass of bullion a genuine asset? What would happen if other nations entirely abandoned the use of gold as money? Is there danger of inflation owing to the injection into our monetary system of an amount of gold which enormously exceeds any monetary needs?

The advent of the war has not made answers to these questions any easier. It has, indeed, dried up one spring which fed the golden stream, for British and French nationals are now prohibited from transferring capital to this country. On the other hand, if the war continues long, purchases of the Allies in this country are likely to exceed by an ever-widening margin the total of goods they sell to us. The difference will be paid by means of their investments in this country and by gold. Over 50 per cent of the world's annual gold output comes from the British Empire, whose mines are marking up new records annually. There seems little doubt that the whole of this gold production will reach our shores, and in addition there will be a steady draft on the still large reserves of Britain and France.

So long as the war lasts, any attempt to redistribute our surplus gold is out of the question. If the plans of the Administration for promoting Latin American trade mature, we may be able to divert a small part to the banking systems of our southern neighbors. But a general restoration of the international gold standard cannot be contemplated until the world is at peace, and even then it would require a fundamental change in our attitude toward foreign trade.

We could, of course, decide to stop swapping our goods for a metal whose future value is problematical, but we should have to be prepared for very disagreeable consequences. At this time the United States Treasury is the only agency in the world prepared to accept all gold offered at a fixed price—$35 per ounce. No other country is able or willing to take on the burden of pegging the price at anything like this figure, and the result of our withdrawal from the market would be to place gold in the position of an ordinary commodity with its value dependent on the demand for dental purposes, jewelry, and so on. Inevitably the price would fall, for at present only a fraction of the annual output of the metal is absorbed by industry and the arts. Consequently we could no longer pretend that our gold reserves were worth $35 an ounce and would have to write off billions from the figure at which they are entered in the national books. Actually this operation would not make any difference to our real wealth, nor would it necessitate a deflation of credit. But its psychological effect would almost certainly be disastrous, and it is improbable that any government would dare risk the experiment.

The war also imposes a barrier against checking the gold inflow in this manner. For by ceasing to accept gold for goods and depreciating its buying power everywhere we would cripple the economic strength of the Allies and present Hitler with an advantage worth twenty army corps. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that we would automatically insure a German victory.

This point is well brought out by Frank D. Graham and Charles R. Whittlesey in "The Golden Avalanche" (Princeton University Press, $2.50), which is the best exposition of the causes and effects of the American gold problem yet published. Nevertheless, the authors propose a method of checking gold imports which, if employed during the war, would prove a severe handicap to the Allies. Their suggestion, briefly, is that the internal price of gold should be maintained at $35 per ounce, but a substantial tax should be placed on imports. As a result, the dollar purchasing power of foreign gold would be reduced and its production discouraged. Probably foreign currencies would depreciate in terms of dollars because their present relative stability is dependent on the

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regular shipment of gold to offset our continuously favorable balance of international payments. In this case American sales abroad would under normal circumstances be reduced, and imports into this country be facilitated. Under war conditions, however, the Allies' needs for American goods might be so urgent that they would be forced to maintain orders here regardless of price and in this case might be compelled to increase gold shipments in order to obtain the same sum in dollars as before.

With the majority of Americans fervently hoping for an Allied victory in the war, it is doubtful if any policy which would definitely lessen their chances can be regarded as practical politics. When peace comes, it will be more possible to consider Messrs. Graham and Whittlesey's proposals on their economic merits. Even then, in so far as they proved effective in achieving their object, they would be equivalent to a reduction in tariffs drastic enough to produce a steady excess of imports over exports. Such a change in our international trade is, indeed, absolutely essential if we are ever to transform our gold hoard into a live asset. But before it can occur we have to surrender many cherished illusions. We have to accept the fact that trade is an exchange of wealth and that the man who tries to be always a seller and never a buyer ends by bankrupting both himself and his customers. For long years we have followed the tariff rainbow, but now that the promised pot of gold is ours we find it a staggering burden and wonder how on earth we shall ever get rid of it.

[*In my next article I shall discuss the possible dangers to our domestic economy arising from our excessive gold holdings, together with some recent proposals by leading bankers for dealing with the problem.*—K. H.]

In the Wind

STUDENTS AT Kalamazoo (Michigan) Teachers' College recently translated "Romeo and Juliet" into French and forwarded the manuscript to their French instructor, who was on a Christmas vacation in the Bahama Islands. When the manuscript was returned to the students, they found that the British censor had deleted a number of lines—in particular, all references to a "feud" or an "enemy."

SHORTLY AFTER the FBI exposure of the Christian Front plot and Coughlin's hasty disavowal of the Front, the editor of a well-known magazine had a private conversation with one of the Front leaders. "It looks as though Coughlin was running out on you," said the editor. "No, he won't do that," was the confident reply; "if he doesn't defend us we know enough about him to finish him—and we've told him so." Two days later Coughlin publicly changed his mind and embraced the Front again.

ANTI-NAZI DRAMA: Three men were sitting at a table in a Berlin cafe. One was reading a newspaper while the others talked. Suddenly the newspaper reader stopped, pointed excitedly to an article, and passed the paper on without saying anything. The second man looked at it, gasped, wrung his hands, but also said nothing. The third man jumped to his feet, exclaiming, "If you fellows are going to talk politics I'm leaving."

COLUMNIST ELEANOR ROOSEVELT recently ended her column with an appeal for help for Spanish refugees. Roy Howard's New York *World-Telegram* omitted the appeal. A few days later Mrs. Roosevelt asked for financial aid to Finland. This time her column was not cut.

THE REPORT that the arrested Christian Fronters stole arms and munitions from a United States army base was headlined in the Boston *Post:* "Trace Reds' Powder to Army Base." . . . The Chicago *Daily News* carried this headline on a recent column by Westbrook Pegler: "Pegler Urges Less Thinking at U. of C." . . . In the continuation head on an account of protests against exports of war materials to foreign countries, the New York *Times* blundered: "War Experts Held a Peril to Defense."

NEXT TO MANNERHEIM, the chief target of Soviet attacks on the Finnish government is Väinö Tanner, who has also been bitterly assailed in the Communist press throughout the world. It is not widely known that in 1937 Tanner was recommended for the presidency of the Finnish republic in a manifesto circulated throughout Finland. The manifesto was signed by Otto Kuusinen, new premier of the Russian-inspired Finnish "republic."

NAZI PROPAGANDA flooding the United States mails is still unbelievably crude. The latest "scoop" in the propaganda bulletin "News from Germany" is the tale that "Thomas Mann, the author and Czech citizen, has been interned by the British authorities." The story is attributed to "British newspapers." As most Americans know, Thomas Mann is right here—lecturing to American audiences.

ELMER RICE, the playwright, was telling friends recently of his only meeting with the late Congressman Sirovich. Sam Goldwyn was also present, and Sirovich was speaking to the two of them about the influx of Nazi agents into the United States. Goldwyn listened attentively; when Sirovich finished he shouted approvingly: "By God, you're right, it's terrible—this country is loaded to the hills with them."

A GOOD MANY years ago, before he had achieved world-wide recognition, Paul Robeson was invited to a dinner at a fashionable New York club. When he arrived he found that because he was a Negro he had to eat in a private room. Recently the same club invited world-famous Paul Robeson to another dinner at which he was to be one of the guests of honor. Robeson formally accepted the invitation—and carefully failed to show up.

ONE OF THE foreign lecturers who have been reciting pro-German doctrine to American audiences starts with a fatal handicap. His name, actually, is Baron Münchhausen.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. The $5 prize for the best item submitted in January goes to R. S. of Kalamazoo, Mich., for the first item printed above.*]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

If This Be Treason—

I AM guilty of another crime—at least so I am told. I had thought there wasn't another in all the category of wrongdoing which could possibly be attributed to me of which I had not already been declared guilty by somebody. Now it appears that I have sold out to the British, that I have been taken into camp by them—all because I have been praised and flattered for having published in London a certain article that gave pleasure to large numbers of people. Some warm friends have told me that I have become "much too friendly" to the British and have asked what the reason is.

Well, here is my explanation. In the first place, I have been in Germany and seen the Nazis in their stronghold, and after that I am prepared to embrace the Patagonians. In the next place, having something that might be described as human sympathy and perhaps even understanding of people, I was profoundly moved by the bearing of the British masses when the war came. I was in England at the time. My emotions *were* stirred. Why should they not have been, and why should I not have expressed those emotions on leaving the country. The words of mine that appealed to many persons were in praise of the plain people who are England. I said that there would always be with me hereafter "the quiet faces of those without uniforms, without titles, the plain people who carry on; who have nothing—yet if they have sons everything —to lose; who must pay and pay and pay, for these are England—the England that must be made free of war, free of fear, free of injustice—for them after the war must be built the England that is to come, better and finer than ever before." If that spells surrendering to the powers that be in Great Britain, to the specially privileged, I must indeed plead guilty to having been taken into camp.

Of course I have not changed my pacifist position. Of course I have not taken back one word of the many criticisms that I have written in past decades about British imperialism. I am just as much aware that the British Empire was built up by wholesale piracy, by the theft of lands, by cruel and unceasing wars. I said freely in England that this war was the result of a contest between idiocy on one hand and insanity on the other; that I thought 40 per cent of the blame for it rested squarely upon the last three British Prime Ministers. But all that is now over the dam. Whether they wished it or not, and many of them did not wish it, the rulers of England have actually come to occupy a position where they are defending everything that is decent in the life of nations. Naturally, since the war is here, is going on, I want with all my heart to have the Allies win—I am as much concerned for the future of France as for that of England. That does not mean that I therefore condone all the sins of the past, that I can excuse the incredible stupidities of British foreign policy at Versailles, and after, or that I no longer desire peace. It does mean that I think that everything that is honorable and possible should be done to save the British people from the threatened results of their leaders' mistakes.

Can any good come out of this war? I have never believed that any good can come out of war beyond temporary relief. It would be a fine momentary gain to purge Germany of the present government and to reconstruct a Czech and a Polish state. But, as I have said before, the real sanitation of Germany, the cleansing of the land of the horrible sins of which its rulers have been guilty since Hitler rose to power, must come from within. Only the Germans can do away with the Nazis and their totalitarian state. If, as so many people believe, this war is but one phase of a world-wide proletarian revolution, even that may not be accomplished. We tried purging Germany of militarism in 1917-18, and we know just what we got. At least we knew then that there were liberal forces in Germany to which the Kaiser's government might yield its power. We have no such assurance today; Hitler has destroyed them. And because resort has been had to war, England is risking everything upon the outcome of a struggle which may be lost by the blunder of a single general, as the Germans lost the Battle of the Marne, or of a single admiral, or of a war minister.

But the faces of those quiet English people continue to come back to me; they are my chief concern. It was not they who set up concentration camps in South Africa; nor was it their grandfathers who instigated the opium war in China. I feel akin to them since half of my ancestry is purely British. They have their faults, heaven knows; they still have their caste system, their lords and ladies. They have not yet seen to it that full justice is done to Ireland. Still, these are the people whom I would do anything—short of war—to help preserve. If this be treason, if this means that I have been purchased by the friendliness of my treatment in England, please make the most of it.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

THE first part of "The Censor Marches On" by Morris Ernst and Alexander Lindey (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50) arouses a positive nostalgia for that age of innocence ten and fifteen years ago when obscenity was a major issue. Then the word "totalitarian" hadn't been invented, Sumner, not Goebbels, was the name for censorship, and one of the compensations of returning from France was getting a blue-backed copy of "Ulysses" through the customs.

The old pattern of censorship was relatively simple. It was an attack from without—by a professional obscenity hunter, a customs official who had never heard of Michelangelo, or a post-office inspector on an off day. To be sure, the Sumners often won their cases by default through the simple device of picking on a bookseller who could not afford to fight or by bringing pressure to bear on public officials. But at least there was a chance of bringing the matter into court, where it could be subjected to public ridicule and judicial examination. When a few publishers decided to make a fight, they found judges with intelligence and a sense of humor who interpreted antiquated laws in such a way as to offset their more stupid provisions. The possible effect of a book on a child or an idiot is no longer the legal test of obscenity; classics and books of recognized literary merit have won immunity; a book must be judged in its entirety, not on the basis of isolated passages. The dissemination of birth-control information has become relatively free. The old laws remain on the statute books and should be repealed, but judicial interpretation plus nullification by a public opinion which is not so easily shocked as it once was have made the work of snoopers much harder.

Today, however, we are confronted with a new pattern of formal censorship which is more dangerous and harder to deal with for the simple reason that it is imposed from within. And this new kind of censorship, which, like all censorship, has come to have an increasingly political tinge, is in operation in the two industries in position to influence the largest sectors of mass opinion, the movies and the radio.

When the bill establishing motion-picture censorship in New York State was introduced in the legislature, some of the producers in California decided it must be fought. They sent a representative to New York to rally the support of exhibitors. But the exhibitors were not interested. On the contrary they wanted pre-censorship as protection against possible charges of violation of the already existing obscenity statute. Today the whole industry operates under the Motion Picture Code, which exercises a complete pre-censorship all the more drastic for being self-imposed. The radio industry also recently adopted a code. Whether it will follow the course of the movie industry in the direction of caution and more caution remains to be seen. As part of big business it is not likely to go out of its way to be hospitable to political opinion unfriendly to the status quo; and since the Federal Communications Commission has the power to allocate wave lengths and since the industry fears federal censorship, it seems more than likely that it will follow Hollywood's example. Nor will it be any less susceptible to the pressure of such groups as the Catholic church. (One of the framers of the movie code is reported to have been the Reverend Daniel A. Lord, S. J.) Neither the movie code nor the radio code is likely to come into court for judicial scrutiny, and it is difficult to make a burning public issue of censorship that is self-imposed.

"The Censor Marches On" makes lively reading, if only for the amusing views it provides of the minds of censors from Sumner to Will Hays; and it is an indispensable handbook for anyone interested in the workings of censorship That should be everyone. At the moment Americans are likely to be a little smug about their freedom of expression because the contrast between totalitarian nations and the United States in this respect is so vivid. This book is a timely reminder that the censor never sleeps, and that eternal vigilance, preferably with a little action thrown in, continues to be the price of liberty.

An exiled German writer is my authority for the latest story of the never-never land of the Motion Picture Code. He was engaged, after long negotiations and flying trips to Hollywood, to adapt "The Case of Sergeant Grischa" for the screen. Finally he found himself one morning actually at work. He had a three-hour conference with the manager of production. Before lunch he received a slip of paper asking him to come to Projection Room Number 8. He spent the afternoon in Number 8 looking at an old silent version of Don Juan. It was rather amusing, and though he was impatient he followed instructions and saw it through. Then he asked why he had been summoned. He was told that Grischa had been canceled and that it had been proposed that he do instead a talking version of Don Juan with Errol Flynn in the leading role. Hollywood, it seems, has discovered that pictures which do more than entertain don't pay except in cities like New York. And at least one German writer is twice a refugee, from Hitler and from Hollywood.

Harold Ickes deals with freedom of speech in another sector, the press, which exercises its own informal brand of censorship. He opens his book, "America's House of Lords" (Harcourt, Brace, $1.50), by reprinting the seven rules of conduct adopted in 1923 by the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He then measures the press by its own yardstick. And he could not have found a better stick with which to beat the publishers than this one of their own devising. Indeed, at the end one wonders why newspaper editors in convention assembled insist on turning out codes of ethics so nicely designed for the use of their critics. The answer is of course that editors in convention assembled are different from editors confronted with specific issues and pressures in the privacy of their own offices, and that high-powered spokesmen for the publishing business like Elisha

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Hanson operate on the principle that if the press talks often and loudly enough about ethics the public tends to take the word for the deed; finally, as long as the publishers control freedom of speech in the newspapers their critics won't get much of a press anyway.

Mr. Ickes analyzes the economics of the newspaper industry, its role as part and partner of big business; he discusses the rise of chains, the effect of advertising on a press which depends on its advertisers rather than its readers for financial support, and the development of radio as a rival of the press both as advertising and news medium. He points out that the radio serves as a check on the press and quotes President Roosevelt: "In some communities it is an unhappy fact that only through the radio is it possible to overtake proclaimed untruths or greatly exaggerated half-truths." This device is open to the President of the United States; it is not open to labor, which has little access to that freedom of the press the publishers are so pious about, though labor comprises a large section of the public opinion to which Elisha Hanson is always appealing. Publishers, as Mr. Ickes points out, are on the whole unfriendly to labor, first because they represent big business, and second because the press itself is a large employer of labor. The press is therefore allergic to the truth about strikes but has plenty of space for attacks on the National Labor Relations Board.

Mr. Ickes devotes some thirty pages to the Chicago *Tribune*. Few would dispute its selection by the Washington correspondents as the "least fair and reliable" of our newspapers, especially after reading this account by an old Chicago hand. In another chapter he pays his respects to columnists. His book does not reveal any startling new facts; but in a little more than two hundred pages Mr. Ickes has brought together from reliable sources the pertinent facts about the American press which its readers should know. It is written with his usual gusto, but he gives credit where credit is due, and in my opinion his case is not overstated. It is a pretty damning case.

MARGARET MARSHALL

The Muse at the Microphone

AIR RAID: A VERSE PLAY FOR RADIO. By Archibald MacLeish. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 75 cents.

AMERICA WAS PROMISES. By Archibald MacLeish. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 75 cents.

"THE situation of radio is the situation of poetry backwards. If poetry is an art without an audience, radio is an audience without an art." So Archibald MacLeish wrote to James Angleton in a letter published last summer in *Furioso*. For a poet to allow his lines to be printed on so small a scale as that provided by the magazines of verse is to look for few readers or none. He is certain to find there no reader but himself. The audience which rightfully belongs to poetry and which surely can be brought to listen to simple, sensuous, and passionate speech is elsewhere. "Air Raid" is addressed to that immense audience which nightly hears the news broadcast. It presents through commentary and scene an imaginary event, but one all too probable in the contemporary world, the bombing of a hill town on the border of an unnamed country, the massacre of women and children. It is not quite accurate to call it, as has been done, a verse play for radio. Rather, it is the poetic equivalent of a report from the scene of a catastrophe.

T. S. Eliot wrote long ago, in his essay on The Possibilities of a Poetic Drama, of the advantage to the poet who wishes to reach a large audience of taking over an existing form, not merely because it was there, ready for his use, but because his audience has already accepted its conventions. "To have, given into one's hands, a crude form, capable of indefinite refinement, and to be the person to see the possibilities"—no words could better describe than Eliot's the fortunate position in which MacLeish found himself writing "Air Raid." His Announcer does nothing that any announcer might not do. At the same time, he is subtly translated in such a way that he carries out the part of the Messenger in a Greek play. The women from the tenement of the town are now heard singly and now they combine into a Chorus. They, too, do nothing strange. But to his form MacLeish has brought the consciousness of a poet. And having taken it from others, he has been able to concentrate almost the whole of his effort on finding an appropriate verse for the form.

For his verse there can be only praise. It is formal without being forced; it is elaborate and yet, if well spoken, should seem perfectly natural. It was, from all accounts, effective on the air. I have heard it only on the records. If it seems better read than heard, that is the fault, not of the poet, but of his players.

When war comes, it comes now to women. MacLeish has already said, in many of his poems, what he now allows one of his women in "Air Raid" to say, that life is more truly itself for them than it is for men. But they live unconsciously until told by a man what their lives are. The young woman lying beside her lover implores him to say that what they are living in that moment is happiness. "How can a woman know that the world is good? She can't tell. She can't and be a woman." But he only implores the moment to stay. Below in the courtyard the women chatter, neither knowing what is in store for them nor wanting to know. They are a nation without history,

> the ancient nation
> Settled in the seasons of this earth as
> Leaves are and oblivious as leaves.

It is against them—against life—that war now comes. And it comes by no apparent will of men. The Announcer says of the planes over the town:

> They move like tools not men;
> You'd say there were no men;
> You'd say they had no will but the
> Will of motor on metal . . .

The implications go beyond war. The enemy is mechanical, and the living are always its victims.

"Air Raid" is true. It is not tragic. For in taking consciousness away from his women the author has denied them the possibility of tragedy. Where there is no awareness, nothing is tragic. There is no one in the play who can both acknowledge and sustain defeat. So that, at the end, it is as depressing as a catastrophe. It is depressing as poetry has no right to be.

The conflict out of which all that is most moving in MacLeish's poetry has come is a conflict between silence and sound—between a sensuous sound and a spiritual silence. It is

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a conflict that lies at the heart of the age, and because this is so, MacLeish is a poet important to the age. For him the report of the senses has always been lively in the extreme. But they cannot prevent his asking the most pressing questions, and when no answer comes he knows he is in at a death of the spirit. He would deny that death if he could. He likes to end his poems on a question, for as long as his question is in the air, he can put off silence. In "America Was Promises" he attempts himself to supply an answer, to speak to Americans, as he believes the "speaking dead" would, were they, as he is, alive. But the answer when it comes fails to dissipate the silence. For all that it is delivered on a high pitch, it fails to convince us that what was once living is not now dead.

For this new poem MacLeish elaborates a form which he first worked out in "Public Speech." But public speech, even when made by a poet, demands ready solutions; it must point the way to action. But action is scarcely the way out of this conflict. It can be resolved, if at all, only through poetry.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP

Cycles and the System

BUSINESS CYCLES. By Joseph A. Schumpeter. McGraw-Hill Book Company. Two Volumes. $10.

PROFESSOR SCHUMPETER is preeminently an economists' economist. Following in the footsteps of a small but distinguished band of predecessors—one might mention Quesnay, Cournot, Walras, and Edgeworth as outstanding examples—he has written mainly for his scientific colleagues. His real influence consequently has been much more extensive than the general reading public is in a position to realize.

In a way this is inevitable, and Professor Schumpeter himself would doubtless be the last to complain. Yet it is open to a reviewer who disagrees with him on many points of fundamental importance to assert emphatically that his work deserves a much wider audience than it has yet reached, in this country at least. It is one of the many paradoxes of our present economic system that the worse it operates, the fewer really penetrating economists it seems able to produce. It is Professor Schumpeter's distinction to be one of a very few at a time when the system is working very badly.

"Business Cycles" is a somewhat misleading title for this comprehensive treatise. The subtitle, "A Theoretical, Historical, and Statistical Analysis of the Capitalist Process," comes somewhat nearer to indicating its true scope. But the careful reader will soon discover that the title is not capricious. For in Professor Schumpeter's view the business cycle is the *inevitable* form of capitalist development; and development, in turn, is the *sine qua non* of the capitalist system. In the absence of change, profit and interest would be wiped out by forces inherent in the system. Hence it follows that so far as the system possesses vitality it must also contain forces making for change. These forces consist primarily, though not exclusively, in technological innovation. But innovations are not introduced smoothly and continuously. In the nature of the case they come discontinuously and in clusters. The business cycle in its essence is nothing but the effect of the introduction and assimilation of these clusters of innovations.

In expounding this view of the capitalist process Professor Schumpeter makes use of two very important and closely related assumptions: (1) that innovations are typically financed through the creation of credit; and (2) that in each case they are introduced by a new firm and hence involve an act of net investment. Now it is possible to argue that these assumptions were borne out under nineteenth-century conditions but that in the latter-day economy of trusts they are no longer valid. There are reasons for believing that today innovations are predominantly financed out of depreciation quotas and furthermore that they tend on balance to displace labor. If this is so, they may not only involve no economic stimulus; they may actually operate to aggravate the problems of unemployment and depression so far as the great majority of the population is concerned. At the same time the widespread existence of monopoly may serve to preserve profits for the owners of a relatively few privileged corporations. Under these conditions no automatic decline or collapse of capitalism could be expected. Moreover, the introduction of innovations would not bring in its train the typical phenomena of the business cycle. This is not to affirm that such a system would be free from cycles. It does suggest, however, that a more general explanatory scheme than that put forward by Professor Schumpeter may be necessary if we are to avoid confining our theory to one particular phase of capitalist development.

It is possible that Professor Schumpeter would admit, perhaps even claim, that his theory is applicable primarily to pre-World War conditions; certainly he shows none of the orthodox economist's traditional weakness for constructing theories valid for all time and space. If so, there is not much to be said in criticism of the fundamental contour lines; they can be accepted with little reservation. At the same time, however, he should be willing to agree that his theory can, in principle at least, be subsumed under a more general theory applicable to the entire capitalist epoch.

On points of less importance there is, of course, bound to be disagreement. Here I shall mention just two such points. First, Professor Schumpeter's method of dealing with problems of money and total output seems to me to be less satisfactory than that of the Keynes school. I realize, however, that he would take strong exception to this view. Second, it seems to me that he draws too fine a line between "economic" phenomena on the one hand and "political" and "social" phenomena on the other. Methodologically and provisionally, *any* line can be drawn so long as it leads to useful results. But when a methodological scruple is carried over into substantive judgments on the course of events, scientific validity is sacrificed to theoretical purity. Capitalism is not *only* an economic process in the narrow sense, and to regard it as such, as Professor Schumpeter is inclined to do, inevitably leads to distorted judgments.

In spite of all reservations and criticisms, however, this remains one of the great economic treatises of recent years. Better than any economist since Marx, Professor Schumpeter has succeeded in viewing capitalism as essentially a transitional historical epoch with its own ethos and its own laws of development. He has brought to his work a wealth of learning and a keenness of insight which may well be the despair of lesser minds. Finally he has demonstrated once

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and for all the utter inadequacy of all merely "monetary" or "external" theories of the cycle.

"Business Cycles" is a great achievement by one of the half-dozen foremost economists of our time. No serious student of the problems which it treats can afford to neglect it.

PAUL M. SWEEZY

Mussolini's Battles

FASCIST ECONOMIC POLICY: AN ANALYSIS OF ITALY'S ECONOMIC EXPERIMENT. By William G. Welk. Harvard University Press. $4.

FASCIST ITALY. By William Ebenstein. American Book Company. $2.50.

PRICE CONTROL IN FASCIST ITALY. By Henry S. Miller. Columbia University Press. $2.

A BOOK entitled "Fascist Economic Policy" should be devoted to Fascist economic policy. But Dr. Welk gives over the first 155 pages of his book to a description of the origins of the Fascist movement and the political and administrative institutions of Fascism. In addition, he devotes an appendix of 176 pages to legal texts, most of which are concerned with the very machinery described in the first part of the book. To be sure, historical antecedents and political institutions cannot be ignored. But the author merely rehashes all the well-known slogans of "propaganda," adding an extravagant array of inaccuracies of his own.

No more than ninety pages deal with Fascist economic policy, and they, too, swarm with misstatements. For instance, on pages 160 and 220, the author credits the Fascist regime with having balanced the budget within its first two years. He should not have ignored the fact that the liabilities connected with the World War declined from 18.2 billion lire in 1921-22, the last pre-Fascist fiscal year, to 4.8 billions in 1922-23, the first Fascist fiscal year, and to 1.8 billions by 1925-26. With such a drop in liabilities the Fascist balancing of the budget represented no great heroic task. Moreover, the author should have pointed to the fact that the surpluses in the budgets from 1924-25 to 1929-30 were faked, as evidenced by the steady increase in the national debt, whether domestic or foreign, avowed or hidden, during those fiscal years. When speaking of the conversion of consols into redeemable bonds and vice versa, and of the loans which fill Italian financial history from 1934 onward, the author takes good care not to explain that conversions were never actually optional and loans never free. Thus, instead of stating that the government in 1935 "forced" the owner to reconvert consols into redeemable bonds, he writes that the government "agreed" to carry out that operation (p. 227), as if the owners of the bonds had required the government to do so. Again, on page 228, the author writes that in October, 1936, the government passed a decree "requiring" all owners of real estate to subscribe to a new loan. The correct word would be "forcing." On page 245, the author states that "millions of square miles of marshland" have been reclaimed under the dictatorship. The whole area of Italy does not exceed 120,000 square miles.

The author concludes that "while the leading economic policies adopted by the Fascist regime may have served to increase the country's economic independence and prestige, they cannot be said, so far at least, to have contributed to its economic advancement or to an increase in the economic well-being of the Italian people. Population growth, economic independence, and colonial expansion are being paid by the mass of the Italians through a lowered standard of living" (pp. 248-49). One may doubt whether Mussolini has increased Italy's prestige if by prestige one has to mean the respect which decent people feel for decent people and not the terror a gangster spreads around him.

In appraising the lowering in the standard of living of the Italians, the author accepts official Italian statistics on wages, cost of living, unemployment, etc., with the same candid faith with which a fundamentalist swallows all there is to be found in the Book of Jonah. Had he looked beyond official figures he would have reached a far more pessimistic conclusion than that which even official statistics cannot keep hidden.

Whoever turns from Dr. Welk's to Dr. Ebenstein's book will find all the information needed for a comprehensive and clear picture of political and economic developments in Italy since 1919. I believe I can affirm in all conscience that very few of the statements contained in this book could be challenged by those sharing Dr. Welk's point of view. I cannot quite understand, however, how a well-informed scholar like Dr. Ebenstein can have listed among the "indispensable" sources Mussolini's so-called "Autobiography." Mussolini himself let it be known that he never wrote a word of it, but that it was concocted by his brother Arnaldo and the former ambassador of the United States to Rome, Richard Washburn Child. The lies in this deliberate mystification were contributed by Arnaldo Mussolini and the inanities by Child.

Among Mussolini's infinite battles—the battle against bolshevism, the battle of wheat, the battle against birth control, the battle against unemployment, not to mention the battles against the Ethiopians and the Spaniards—the battle against the high cost of living deserved a doctoral dissertation. Dr. Miller has described with painstaking diligence the institutions created or utilized in Italy by the Fascist dictatorship to stem the high cost of living, from the first crude local committees which ought to have checked the mounting price of bread, to the elaborate system of national committees which is expected today to enforce "just prices."

Dr. Miller reaches the conclusion that "price control in Italy has been a success." However, on page 19 of his book we learn that by the spring of 1934 "prices were no longer declining but beginning to rise"; and on page 34 we read that by the fall of 1935 "it was clear to every student of the problem that local price control had been inefficient. It had suffered prices to rise without hindrance in the first nine months of 1935." This statement would lead us to the conclusion that the success of price-fixing became manifest only in 1936 and 1937, that is, after "central control" was set up, and particularly after "central control" had become "corporative control" in the spring of 1937.

In fact, during the last months of 1935 and the first months of 1936 there was no appreciable increase in the cost of Italian staple foods. But was this the effect of "central control," which had been set up in the autumn of 1935, or was it due to some other cause? In explaining this phenomenon Dr. Miller overlooks the fact that in the autumn of 1935 the

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League of Nations, because of the Ethiopian War, boycotted all Italian exports. Since Italian exports are mainly staple foods and finished goods, it is no wonder that there was no appreciable increase in the prices of these commodities. As soon as the League of Nations lifted its embargo on Italian exports, prices which had remained stable during the months of the sanctions began to soar once more to new peaks.

Dr. Miller lived in Italy from June, 1937, to April, 1938. During that period he was in a position to gather immediate and valuable information about the movement of prices from hundreds of housewives, workers, petty clerks, and professional men. It would not appear that he made the most of this opportunity. GAETANO SALVEMINI

Shorter Notices

SIDNEY HILLMAN. By George Soule. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

Some vital catalytic agent was lacking in the preparation of this book, which has all the ingredients of a first-rate piece of work but never quite comes off. Its hero, Sidney Hillman, is a dynamic, brilliant personality of great and growing importance in the current labor and political scene. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which he heads, is an example of progressive unionism and a pioneer in developing saner and more enlightened industrial relations in the United States. The author is a distinguished economist who published "The New Unionism in the Clothing Industry" (with J. M. Budish) in 1920 and has remained ever since in close contact with the special problems of the needle-trades worker. Yet when mixed together, all these promising elements result in a pot-pourri quite painfully dull and disappointing. The Hillman portrait is done in the Sir Galahad tradition of biography. In the background the narrative of the Amalgamated's career flickers like an old-fashioned movie, always on the verge of breaking down into whorls and splotches on the screen and the "Turkish March" on the piano. Like writers seeking to convey sex knowledge to children, Mr. Soule tends to linger over-long with the bees and the flowers, neglecting many of the facts of life—as they relate to labor and its leaders in these troublous times.

MEN, WIND, AND SEA. By Riley Brown. Carlyle House. $2.25.

The Coast Guard and the Lighthouse Service, recently unified, comprise one branch of the government service that functions with so much efficiency that we scarcely ever hear of it. Prohibition made us slightly conscious of the Coast Guard's existence, but in a manner not at all to its liking. This book, written by a member of the service, is a collection of anecdotes about its activities; but it shows only too plainly that intimate knowledge of the facts is no guaranty of a readable story. The adventures of the Ice Patrol, the burning of the Morro Castle, the sinking of the I'm Alone, to mention but a few, are all gripping stories; but it is only because they are so heavily freighted with excitement that they survive the author's adolescent pen. The Coast Guard deserved a much better press. Nevertheless, the book would make an excellent gift for boys from twelve to sixteen.

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DRAMA

Bagdad on the Subway

AS THE second offering of their second season the playwrights' Company is presenting a romantic satire in eleven scenes entitled "Two on an Island" (Broadhurst Theater). Its author, Elmer Rice, was last year responsible for the only failure among the offerings of this group, and I complained that he seemed to have lost one of the most entertaining of his gifts—that for catching the gesture and accent of his urban contemporaries. I am happy now to withdraw that complaint without any reservation, and "Two on an Island" promises to be more than successful enough to reestablish him as a member in good standing of the Playwrights' Company.

The island in question is Manhattan itself, and the two who serve as hero and heroine are a boy and a girl arriving simultaneously from the hinterland. They do not actually meet until the last act, but they are, as the author points out, representatives of that great company completing the strange circular migration begun by their forefathers when the latter set out to conquer those great open spaces from which the new generation is returning for a new conquest. Through their eyes we see what is the real subject of the play—the panorama of metropolitan life sketched in broad, bold, and telling strokes.

Jo Mielziner has designed an extremely effective series of skeletonized and stylized settings, which include a subway and the gigantic head of the Statute of Liberty. Mr. Rice has provided a series of delightfully telling vignettes, and the combination is perhaps the most successful attempt ever made to state in theatrical terms the humors of O. Henry's Bagdad on the Subway. Mr. Rice's mood is, indeed, almost as unashamed in its humorous romanticism as was that of the author of "The Four Million." O. O. McIntyre would have loved the play, and it is only the author's shrewd observation and shrewd craftsmanship which lift it above the level of the familiar heartbreak-and-glamour style of contemporary romance. But it is above that level because, even when Mr. Rice uses a method almost broad enough to suggest the cartoon, the sharpness and directness of his observation, together with his extraordinary gift for recording the speech of real people, give the thing a sincerity and a verisimilitude wholly delightful. The theatrical method which he employs has been all but discredited by "advanced" playwrights who have used it as an excuse for laziness and inepitude, but Mr. Rice has rehabilitated it partly by the crispness of his atmospheric scenes, partly by the knowingness with which he has alternated them with the more fully developed scenes involving his hero and heroine, most of which are written with great vigor and originality. Take, for example, that in which the heroine is all but seduced by the illustrator for whom she is posing. Obviously this scene is inevitable in any such story. One is ready to assume that it could not be other than stereotyped and banal. Yet actually it is neither. Aided by the very fine performance given by Miss Betty Field, it becomes, instead, perhaps the best single scene in the play, freshly humorous as well as pathetic.

With "Two on an Island" Mr. Rice, I think, resumes his place among the best of our comic writers, along with the Messrs. Behrman, Barry, and Kaufman, and it is interesting to notice how different the quality of the wit of each one is. Mr. Behrman is literary and, in the most favorable sense of the word, artificial—not really of any time or any class; Mr. Barry speaks with the accent, idealized of course, of the smartest of the best families; Mr. Kaufman with that of Broadway and Twenty-one. Neither the comic insight nor the wit of Mr. Rice is like that of any of the others, and it rests, one might say, on a broader base, derives from the spirit of a larger mass of people. It is not merely that his favorite characters are landladies, taxi drivers, and the like, persons whose knowingness is combined with an innocent unsophistication. It is also that the whole flavor of his writing is more robust, more earthy, less narrowly local, and less highly specialized in spirit if not in manner. Of the four he is the most inclusively American, and without him the quartet would represent far less completely than it does the comic spirit of this nation.

"Two on an Island" probably owes almost as much to the author's skilful staging as it does to his writing. It also owes a great deal to a company of more than fifty persons, among whom some of the minor performers are excellent. I have already mentioned Betty Field among the principals. Others are Luther Adler as a Broadway producer and John Craven as the young man from Iowa. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

A BROADCASTING company's sense of its own virtue would do for an Inquisition burning the proper faith into heretics or a Soviet government bombing it into Finnish villagers. Anyone who cannot see in a musical program of N. B. C., Columbia, or Mutual the utmost in devotion to music, in understanding, in wisdom, is—in the eyes of N. B. C., Columbia, or Mutual—a person blinded by his own mean nature. But the people at N. B. C. who continue to fit late Beethoven quartets into half-hour periods every Sunday evening by slicing out movements are—in the eyes of anyone with real devotion to music and real understanding—barbarians blinded by their pretentiousness.

Bloch's Violin Concerto had a superb New York first performance by Szigeti with the Boston Symphony; and it was interesting to see that the audience, which was almost intensely quiet during the first movement, became restless and inattentive during the third, and in this way expressed a correct appraisal of the two movements. Bloch, that is, reverts in the third movement to what he has already said impressively and at sufficient length in the first.

Bloch, who is very particular about the kind of performances his works get, has spoken enthusiastically of the performances of his String Quartet by the Griller Quartet, which played it in New York recently (and then did a much less distinguished job with Mozart); and he supervised the Stuy-

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vesant Quartet's excellent recording of the work for Columbia (M-392, $9). The work is characteristic in the intensity and complexity of its feeling, the richness and complexity of the idiom in which this feeling expresses itself, the remarkable sensitiveness to tone, and in particular to the tonal resources of the four strings in combination, which this idiom exhibits. These produce passages of unforgettable individuality and power; but the work is not without its occasional inferiority—the so-called second subject of the first movement, for example.

Another fine Columbia set (X-154, $3.50) offers Handel's Concerto Grosso Opus 6 No. 6 in an excellent performance by the London Symphony under Weingartner. But for the rest Columbia's January list offers several items that I consider wholly negligible: Reger's Suite for unaccompanied 'cello Opus 131c, however well played by Feuermann (X-152, $3.50); the Introduction to Act 3 of Wagner's Tannhäuser," however well done by the Paris Conservatory Orchestra under Weingartner (69793-D, $1.50); a wooden-toned recording of Mendelssohn's "Reformation" Symphony by Columbia Broadcasting Symphony under Barlow (M-391, $6). And as for Roland Hayes's Song Recital (M-393, $5), it is regrettable that no recordings were made of this artist's singing in its prime; but it is regrettable also that when Columbia does get around to it he records none of the songs of Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms that he sang so beautifully and can still do well, but instead the Dream from "Manon," Quilter's "It Was a Lover and His Lass," and Beethoven's "Adelaide"—these in addition to some old Italian and French things, Bach's "Bist du bei mir" (which Mr. Hayes thinks is a secular song), and two Negro songs, "He never said a mumberlin' word" and "Roun' 'bout de mountain." In these last three and in the thirteenth-century "L'Amour de moi" Mr. Hayes does his best singing.

The surfaces of these records show considerable improvement.

B. H. HAGGIN

FILMS

THE eagerly awaited movie version of John Steinbeck's "The Grapes of Wrath" (Twentieth Century-Fox) is one Hollywood production you cannot afford to miss: for its general excellence in direction, acting, and photography, for the fact that in places it breaks out of the strait-jacket of formulas and codes; for the significance of the whole undertaking, whatever its motives. With it a new period in the development of American moving-picture art could begin. But even if this hope is not confirmed, the standard which the film sets will remain. To make it a beginning instead of letting it be a mere single accomplishment is now—partly at least—up to the audiences. It would be a great pleasure to see the conventional school of producers that operates on the easy assumption that movies are and should be nothing but (mild) entertainment get a licking at the box office. But of course, no costly manifestation of a society, such as the press, the radio, and the movies, can be freer than the society itself.

Nunnally Johnson, who wrote the movie version, has done

Oswald Garrison Villard

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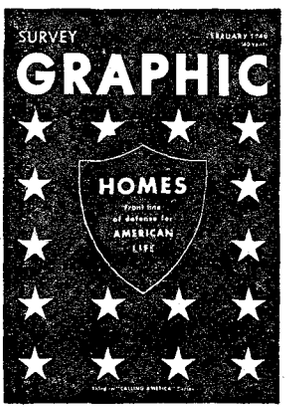
LET'S BUILD OUR "HOME LINE"

TWELVE months ago, in the first of the Calling America Series of *Survey Graphic,* we attempted to turn outrage and protest at the persecution of minorities abroad into positive lines of thought and action and to strengthen our democracy at home. Last October we published as second in the Calling America Series: SCHOOLS—The Challenge of Democracy to Education. Now Comes HOMES: Front Line of Defense for American Life.



In this issue nineteen experts explain in vivid and authoritative articles, charts and illustrations why a home in the very fullest sense of the word—the house itself and its setting in a neighborhood providing adequate amenities—stands far beyond the reach of millions of Americans to rent or to buy. Moreover, *they point the way to a solution of the problem.*

Under the editorship of Albert Mayer, architect, writer, consultant to official housing and planning authorities and of Loula D. Lasker as associate, this number answers the following challenging questions:

How do good homes *strengthen our democracy?* How are builders, financiers and planners attempting to solve the problems of the *family who wants a real home?* What is *our government doing* to raise the standard of home life? What progress has been made in the fields of public housing, investment housing, home and community planning? How can we solve the *riddle of taxation* in relation to housing? Where will the back-to-the-country movement lead? What sort of homes and communities can we expect *in the America of tomorrow?*

Contributors include Secretary Henry A. Wallace, Raymond V. Parsons, Irving Brant, Catherine Bauer, Edith Elmer Wood, Ira S. Robbins, Carl Feiss, Benton MacKaye, David Cushman Coyle, Charles Abrams, Lewis Mumford, Dorothy Canfield, Harold S. Buttenheim, John H. Crider, John Palmer Gavit.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER

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his work skilfully. Since "The Grapes of Wrath," unlike "Gone with the Wind," was not assigned the status of a super-production, Mr. Johnson had to cut sharply into the original. The whole last part of the book is out—the box-car camp, the flood, Rosasharn's miscarriage, and the very last scene. The picture closes with Tom Joad fleeing (to be "everwhere—wherever you look") from the government camp. And the family drives on, longing for work, Mother Joad summing up: "We're the people that live. Can't nobody wipe us out."

The tone of the original is often softened, the breath weakened, the scope narrowed, but what remains is still within its limits a passionate and deeply absorbing story. There are flaws. One never sees for example, the Joads or the other immigrants from the Dust Bowl actually at work in the green and golden valleys of California. Why? The contrast between their dreams of what fruit picking would be in a beautiful and fertile landscape and what it turned out to be in reality constituted a natural and very effective element in the original. Would it spoil our appetite for compotes if we could actually see how our fruits are picked? The movie version does not always tell the whole story, but neither does it lie; emotional formulations of little directive meaning are given a prominent place at the cost of concrete and intelligent conclusions. But as a whole the script preserves the spirit of the novel.

John Ford, the director, who last year did an unsurpassed job with "Stage Coach," again triumphs. It is he who made this picture what it is. Taste, economy, a sharp sense of artistic balances, and an admirable technical skill enable him to tell of human hearts where others would only report external actions. He is developing more and more a style of his own which combines realism with imagination. As a result he gives us pictures of life which mere naturalism could not achieve. Sometimes one feels that he would like to go a step farther, that he could heighten a scene, make its impact even stronger, that he could shake us where he only moves us—I hope he will one day be allowed to do it. In this film the children in Hooverville do not look really starved, and they do not behave as if they were. There are other retouchings, too, to match the script, but often the director overcomes the limitations imposed and turns them into virtues, achieving his result through implication. Special mention should be made of his camera man, Gregg Toland. The photography is exact and ingenious, and there are many unforgettable shots.

It remains to praise the cast, which in the chief parts and in the bits is equally perfect. Henry Fonda as Tom, Jane Darwell as Ma Joad, John Caradine as Casey play with an air of understatement which fits their stunned bewilderment when they find out what the world still is like in the midst of plenty. If their behavior for long stretches is rather lyrical than tough, it is not their fault. They have not been allowed to play the hardest and most bitter moments of the book. Not enough credit can be given to the supporting cast and its direction. These cops, vigilantes, emigrants, truck drivers, and gas-station attendants on U. S. Highway 66 supply a frightening reality; they are presented without any sentimental concessions. This cannot be said about the whole picture. But, nevertheless, "The Grapes of Wrath" is Hollywood's most distinguished offering. FRANZ HOELLERING

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Birthday Greetings

[*Next week* The Nation *will celebrate its seventy-fifth anniversary, and we have already received many messages of congratulation and comment. We are grateful for these greetings—even the critical ones. We printed some last week and shall run as many others as we can find space for in the next few issues.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

CHARLES POLETTI
Lieutenant Governor of New York

I am glad to have this opportunity to extend warm congratulations to *The Nation* on its seventy-fifth birthday. I like *The Nation* because its appraisal of current affairs and trends is keen and fair. It does not accept things on the strength of labels. I admire it because it is as critical of those persons with whose progressive views it is in accord as of those with whom it violently disagrees. In short, *The Nation* is an exceedingly stimulating and progressive force.

ALFRED A. KNOPF

I am poor at writing testimonials, but I can tell you that for twenty-five years I have never, except when I have been far from home, missed examining and reading at least part of an issue of *The Nation.* That's something. Good luck to it on its seventy-fifth anniversary!

RAYMOND GRAM SWING

I can think of no single periodical in the United States whose continued existence is of more importance to American democracy than *The Nation.* Not that it is consistently wiser than other periodicals, but I know of none which is more conscientiously aware of the problems of democracy or more loyally dedicated to the maintenance of civil liberties.

WILLIAM T. EVJUE
Editor, the Madison *Capital Times*

As the editor of a daily newspaper I look each week for the appearance of *The Nation.* I have been doing this for many years because *The Nation* has been an outstanding champion of an intelligent liberalism. *The Nation* is always a valuable incentive to the editor who seeks to mold, day in and day out, a newspaper that aims to give expression to the groups in the American scene that are trying to promote a better life for our people. *The Nation* has always been militant, aggressive, and fearless—refreshingly so to one who knows something of the pressures to which modern publications are subject. I congratulate *The Nation* on its seventy-fifth birthday and take this occasion to wish for it many more years of distinguished service.

STANLEY M. ISAACS
President, Borough of Manhattan

The Nation holds a high position among those publications which deservedly affect public opinion. It has always been a strong influence looking toward the development of progressive and liberal ideas. Its views have been expressed with courage and emphasis. On some occasions I have thought it over-critical to those in office, particularly during Theodore Roosevelt's time. But even to those who disagreed at times with the views expressed, it has always been a stimulating and exciting publication to read. In present hands and in these troublous times it is more essential than ever.

GEORGE FORT MILTON

It is indeed heartening news that *The Nation* has reached the seventy-fifth mile post of a distinguished career. As an inquirer into the field of American history, I have become familiar with its record in the days of Reconstruction. As a friend and warm admirer of Oswald Garrison Villard, I followed its course during the years of his direction. Since then I have observed the continuing vigor of high public purpose that animates its conduct.

From all these standpoints I admire *The Nation*—its history, its purposes, and the influence it has with liberal thought in the United States. I hope for it seventy-five more years of useful service.

GUY EMERY SHIPLER
Editor, the *Churchman*

What I think of *The Nation* can be given the truest emphasis if I put it this way: If every clergyman in the United States were a reader, the church would come far closer to being that dynamo for the development of justice and goodwill which the religion it represents demands it should be. *The Nation's* sensitive insight, its intellectual fiber, its daring to say what others fear to say—these and a long list of other qualities are desperately essential in a journalism making for the fulfilment of our democratic idea. They give the paper a glorious right to touch off all the fireworks and devour all the cakes it can lay its hands on in celebration of its seventy-fifth anniversary of embattled public service.

OLIVER CARLSON
Director of Public Relations, California

My greetings to *The Nation* on its seventy-fifth birthday. It's the livest oldster I've seen—and, as you know, we've got a lot of lively oldsters out here. You've done a grand job. Best wishes and a long, long life to *The Nation* and its staff.

ELMER A. BENSON
Former Governor of Minnesota

I am very happy to greet you and the readers of *The Nation* on this its seventy-fifth anniversary. We all hope that all the issues of *The Nation* in the weeks to come may be as interesting and helpful as the many issues we have read in the past. I am always interested in reading *The Nation,* and I think most people are, because while we may disagree with the editors and those who contribute to *The Nation* on the non-essential, less important things, usually, I am sure, most of us agree with *The Nation* upon the fundamental and important things.

May you always continue to stimulate thought and discussion among your readers and especially so in the critical weeks and months immediately ahead of us.

ROGER BALDWIN

The Nation has been for years the stalwart champion of every cause on the fighting front for human freedom. It has been cool and clear-eyed even when others in the liberal camp have become excited and intolerant. Its news and

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comment are indispensable to an understanding of the major conflicts that mark the world's somewhat doubtful progress.

BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL

I wish to add my word of congratulation on *The Nation's* seventy-fifth anniversary. I have been a reader of *The Nation* for fifty years. It has always been a journal of outstanding distinction, but it has greatly improved in the last quarter-century. In the old days it commanded attention by a forthright honesty, altogether admirable but somewhat abstract and formal. In recent years the honesty is just as marked, but now takes larger consideration of things as they are, and has deeper sympathy with and regard for the fundamental human elements. In spite of itself the old *Nation* was aristocratic to a degree that was at times repellent. It is now the most genuinely democratic journal I know.

BENNETT CERF

Publisher, Random House

My congratulations to *The Nation* on its seventy-fifth anniversary. I consider it one of the three most important magazines in the United States. I hope they will be able to say as much for Random House when we celebrate *our* seventy-fifth anniversary—that will be in the year 2003.

IRVING BRANT

Contributing Editor, St. Louis *Star-Times*

When a radio direction finder is installed on a ship, it has to be calibrated to correct distortion caused by nearby masses of metal. For the past twenty-five years *The Nation* has been, to me, chiefly a calibrator of the news and editorial opinion of the daily press, correcting distortion, recording the true direction of the beam of truth. If there is a more vital function than that, in American weekly journalism, I don't know what it is.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

As time passes, *The Nation* continues to reverse the course of nature. In its early days *The Nation* was sound, scholastic, dull, heavy, and very respectable. Today it is no less sound, but it is vigorous, lusty, interesting, and on occasion its intelligent views have even been regarded as "subversive."

Some years ago, before Villard assumed the leadership, I was asked at a dinner of contributors how I liked *The Nation.* "I don't know," I answered, "I never read any part of it except my own rare contributions." Today *The Nation* is something of a nuisance, for however busy I may be, I am uncomfortable until I find time to give it careful reading.

Congratulations on your progress! I look forward to the time when the circulation of *The Nation* will be to a greater degree commensurate with its influence and repute.

CHARLES H. HOUSTON

Outstanding Negro Attorney

Congratulations on the seventy-fifth anniversary of *The Nation.* Back in high school *The Nation* started me doing my own thinking. Whether I agree with it or not, I still always try to find the position of *The Nation* on every important public issue.

HELEN HALL

Director, Henry Street Settlement

One of the best things I know about *The Nation* is that we live in a country where it can be published. Its crisp, clear critical opinions which bring edge to the thinking of our times are invaluable.

And, purely between you and me, it gives me great satisfaction to think that anything as handsome has a woman editor! I grew up in days when we did not even let a woman vote, and the last twenty years have made such changes that the things we do still have a touch of adventure.

FLORENCE E. ALLEN

Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals

Nothing is so essential to the preservation of our liberties as courage, unbiased discussion of public issues. In no journal do I find this quality exhibited in a higher degree than it is in *The Nation.*

HARRIET B. LAIDLAW

Congratulations, in this unstable and changing world, to *The Nation* on its seventy-fifth birthday. We need such a journal as *The Nation*—one that is spendidly American without any narrow chauvinism. I feel that we can trust its leadership, as it stands poised, alert to deal with crucial questions. There are a quick readiness and a certain healthy youthfulness and elasticity in *The Nation* that point to a future of usefulness, and that augur well for its rapidly spreading importance.

JACQUES MARITAIN

I am glad to know of the seventy-fifth anniversary of *The Nation* and to be able to congratulate it upon its long and worthy career. Its liberal values have made it representative of much of the promise of American life; and this is recognized in France today by those who are in the forefront of the struggle for the survival of civilization —a survival which, to my mind, requires first the renewing, even in social and political matters, of the true spirit of Christendom.

CONTRIBUTORS

KENNETH G. CRAWFORD, Washington correspondent of the New York *Post* and *The Nation,* has recently been elected president of the American Newspaper Guild.

DWIGHT MACDONALD, formerly on the editorial staff of *Fortune,* is now an editor of the *Partisan Review.*

HENRY B. KRANZ is short-wave monitor for the Columbia Broadcasting Service.

MICHEL MOK is a feature writer for the New York *Post.*

JOHN PEALE BISHOP, poet and critic, is the author of "Now with His Love" and "Minute Particulars."

PAUL M. SWEEZY is an instructor in economics at Harvard University.

GAETANO SALVEMINI, Lauro de Bosis lecturer on the history of Italian civilization at Harvard University, has recently published "Historian and Scientist: An Essay on the Nature of History and the Social Sciences."

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